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Karpov on Conventional Arms Talks, SDI

PM2010152288 Paris LE FIGARO in French
19 Oct 88 p 5

[Interview with Viktor Karpov, Soviet arms control negotiator, by Pierre Bocev; date, place not given]

[Text] [Bocev] Theoretically it is now just a matter of time before the conclusion of the CSCE conference in Vienna and the start of new East-West negotiations on conventional disarmament a few weeks later. How do you think things will develop?

[Karpov] I do not want to discuss the other aspects of CSCE here, such as economic cooperation and human rights, but would like to concentrate on the military sphere. In view of French reservations, we agreed not to discuss tactical nuclear missiles, those with a range of less than 500 km, until later. A compromise has been reached on so-called dual-purpose weapons, for instance guns which can fire conventional and nuclear shells.

The question of "zones" still has to be settled, but I think this is a minor problem. Turkey is asking for part of its territory to be excluded from the area covered by the negotiations which stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals. We see no major objections to this, provided the exempted territory is relatively small and contains no foreign bases, and provided the number of troops in it is reduced. In exchange, we would secure a similar exemption for part of our Transcaucasian Military District.

The Three Stages [subhead]

Once the real negotiations have started, the important thing is not to engage in discussions for their own sake. We must make rapid, practical progress.

[Bocev] At that stage, what proposals will the USSR and its allies make to the 16 NATO countries?

[Karpov] We are proposing a three-stage plan, the broad outlines of which are known.

1—We must start by exchanging information on the existing military forces on both sides: the number of troops and major weapons like tanks, artillery above a given caliber, and attack aircraft. We must also reach agreement on how far this exchange of figures will extend—to division, regiment, or other levels. An on-site verification system is stipulated. We think all that will take a few months.

Once the figures are accepted, they will show asymmetries. For instance, one side will have more tanks than the other, which in turn will have a superiority in some category of weapons. These disparities and asymmetries must then be eliminated, and this ought to take a relatively short time—1 or 2 years.

2—The principles governing the implementation of this stage should be negotiated while the first stage is being implemented. If this is not done, we will waste valuable time. The aim is to reduce existing forces by 500,000 men and to reduce the equipment in each camp.

3—Finally, the aim is to achieve even lower levels of armed forces in the Warsaw Pact and NATO and to eliminate all offensive capabilities. Neither of the two alliances should be capable of launching a surprise attack or assault operations. They should only retain a capacity to defend themselves.

[Bocev] What do you expect the NATO countries to do at the start of the negotiations? There is talk of a Western proposal to reduce the two alliances' military forces to 95 percent of NATO's existing potential.

[Karpov] This is not what we would like. We think that this is too modest an objective.

Moreover, to facilitate talks on the size of the existing forces, the Warsaw Pact is currently drafting a document on this subject.

A Risk Reduction Center [subhead]

The reduction in forces which we are seeking should of course cover national forces and foreign forces deployed in particular countries. However, at the present stage we are not able to say what precise criteria we will use in tackling this point.

[Bocev] Are you planning new initiatives on conventional disarmament?

[Karpov] We are proposing the creation of a "European Risk Reduction Center," similar to the body we set up with the Americans in the nuclear sphere alone. Its role would be to receive and analyze information provided by the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on the size and deployment of their forces and equipment. This center, to which all 35 CSCE countries would belong, could, if necessary, send observers to carry out on-site verification of this information.

We are also confirming the proposal put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev last July, namely a meeting at the highest possible level among the 35 CSCE countries to give political impetus to conventional disarmament negotiations. I will not conceal that we did not receive a favorable response to this idea in Paris.

On the other hand, there is no question of a unilateral Soviet withdrawal from Hungary, as Western newspapers are suggesting. Hungarian territory will be covered by the future negotiations and it is in those negotiations that decisions will be made. They will not be made unilaterally.

[Bocev] What is France' role in the arms control and disarmament process?

[Karpov] France is becoming more active in this sphere and we welcome this. It is directing its efforts more toward achieving positive results. It is very important that France has changed its viewpoint on chemical weapons and no longer seems to be demanding the establishment of "security stocks."

"Star Wars" Still [subhead]

That was one of the main obstacles at the Geneva conference. However, things are still not completely clear to us, and we will have further discussions on this subject with our French colleagues. I will return to Paris for that in mid-November.

[Bocev] The United States has just scaled down its SDI program. Do you regard this as a positive development?

[Karpov] So far "Star Wars" research has not violated the 1972 ABM Treaty on the limitation of ABM defenses. All the experiments have been carried out in such a way that they did not directly jeopardize that treaty, which is the touchstone for our strategic relations.

But if we examine the general trend, it inevitably leads to a clear violation of the ABM agreement even in the scaled-down version now envisaged by Washington.

In addition, the administration is resorting to subterfuge to try to persuade us to accept its "broad" interpretation of the ABM Treaty, which we regard as totally unjustifiable. Its proposal on space sensors is a direct attempt to do that. We will also use these devices to collect data on experimental missile launches, but we are not prepared to accept that any sensor can be authorized, irrespective of its mission.

TV Reports Destruction of U.S. Missiles

LD2110041988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As we have already reported, the destruction of American land-based missiles has started at the U.S. Davis Monthan Air Force Base in Arizona.

[Correspondent V. Zvyagin] There is a total of 443 cruise missiles at the base, and over the past 72 hours, 41 missiles and 7 launchers have been destroyed. The work appears simple, but the American specialists spent several months preparing for it.

First special cutters are used to separate the upper and lower parts of the missile, and then it is cut in half and its innards destroyed. The Soviet inspectors attending the destruction subsequently certified that all the operations have been performed. As correspondents were told by General Medvedev, head of the Soviet group, the Soviet side has already destroyed some 280 missiles in accordance with the treaty. The work at the base in Arizona will be continued and, as the local papers put it, the Russian proverb "Trust, but check," which has become so popular here, is already being read in a new way: "Check, so as to trust."

Foreign Ministers To Meet in Budapest 28-29 Oct

LD2010162788 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] The Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization will hold a session in Budapest on 28th and 29th October. That has been announced in Moscow.

Yazov Returns From Defense Ministers Meeting

LD1910153288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 19 Oct 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Army General Yazov, USSR minister of defense, has arrived in Moscow from Prague, where he attended a session of the Warsaw Treaty Defense Ministers Committee. He was met at the airport by Comrade Vlasov and other officials.

Bloc Party Culture Chiefs Confer, See Medvedev

PM2010145988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] From 17-19 October Moscow was the venue of a meeting of the heads of culture departments of the socialist countries' communist and workers party central committees. The meeting discussed questions of improving cultural cooperation among the fraternal countries.

The conference was opened by A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department. Reports were delivered by T. Ganchev, deputy chief of the BCP Central Committee Ideological Policy Department; K. Radics, chief of the MSZMP Central Committee Science, Public Education, and Cultural Affairs Department; Tran Do, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and chief of the Central Committee Culture and Arts Department; U. Ragwitz, member of the SED Central Committee and chief of the SED Central Committee Culture Department; S. Corrieri, member of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee and chief of the PCC Central Committee Culture Department; T. Thammavong, member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and Lao minister of culture; Ch. Tumendelger, member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chief of the MPRP Central Committee Ideology Department; T. Sawic, director of the PZPR Central Committee Culture Department; E. Sonea, member of the RCP Central Committee and deputy chief of the RCP Central Committee Propaganda and Media Section; Yu.P. Voronov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department; and M. Muller, member of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission and chief of the CPCZ Central Committee Culture Department.

There was a fruitful exchange of the experience of cultural building in the socialist countries. Questions of work with creative youth and the fraternal countries' participation in international cultural organizations were discussed. Members of a delegation [not further specified] had conversations with leaders of the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and the creative unions, and familiarized themselves with the capital's cultural life.

The participants in the meeting were received by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Zaykov Meets Bulgarian Officials in Moscow

LD1810191788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, today received a group of senior officials from the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, first secretaries of oblast and obshtina committees of the Bulgarian Communist Party who are taking a short-term education course at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. He also met a delegation from the Sofia city committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, led by Stoyanov, city committee secretary. The first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom told the Bulgarian guests about the course of restructuring, the implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, and the implementation of political and economic reform. Issues of the Soviet capital's social and economic development were touched on. The importance of further strengthening friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the Bulgarian Communist Party was emphasized in the conversation.

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 20 Oct

Announces Falin Appointment

LD2010134388 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Valentin Falin, 62, who was chairman of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (APN) board in the last two years, was appointed to head the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today.

Falin, who graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations, was ambassador of the USSR to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1971-1978, occupied senior posts at the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Foreign Ministry. At the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses he was elected member of the Central Auditing Commission, and at the 27th congress alternative member of the CPSU Central Committee.

Denies Stepanakert Student Unrest

LD2010152888 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today denied the Radio France report claiming that 200 students and teachers have been occupying since October 19 the building of the teachers' training college in Stepanakert, Soviet Azerbaijan, in protest at "the deployment of military units in the college."

"These allegations are wholly based on invention. We have received reports from Stepanakert saying that no military units have been sent to the college, nor there is a need to do that," Gerasimov said.

The spokesman stated that the institute's faculty and students held a meeting on Wednesday to discuss the proposal for sending Armenian students to corresponding colleges in Soviet Armenia.

Specifically, there was a possibility to send the students to three educational establishments in Armenia. The students insisted that they be sent to one educational establishment. The meeting was held quietly, without incidents.

Previews Kohl Visit

LD2010135088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 20 Oct (TASS)—FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl is arriving in the USSR on 24 October for an official visit. The Soviet-FRG dialogue will be continued during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the FRG, which will take place in the first half of next year. This is what Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

The Foreign Ministry representative stressed that this is "a major political event showing that bilateral relations are developing and deepening. This is met with full support from Soviet society. The USSR and the FRG are situated on the same continent, and it is natural that they are partners in European affairs and in the construction of the 'European abode'."

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Defense Minister Rupert Scholz; Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher; Heinz Riesenhuber, minister for research and technology; Klaus Toepfer, minister for environment, nature conservation and reactor safety; and Ignaz Kiechle, minister for food, agriculture and forestry, will be accompanying Chancellor Kohl, among other ministers. Many FRG businessmen and journalists are arriving too.

Criticizes Howe Speech

LD2010152388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1424 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 20 Oct (TASS)—"A curious demonstration of a return to yesterday" was how Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, described the speech by Geoffrey Howe, British foreign and commonwealth secretary, at the Conservative Party conference in Brighton.

Geoffrey Howe, Gerasimov said at a briefing today, tried to cast doubts on the USSR's foreign political intentions, which have opened up prospects for East-West relations, and insisted on the need to conduct affairs with the USSR "from a position of strength."

The British secretary also spoke about a kind of aggressiveness on the part of the USSR and called for vigilance in view of Moscow's "insidious designs." All these theses, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, "are being repeated in other statements by British Tories, usually when they want to belittle the importance of this or that foreign policy initiative by the Soviet Union, and to reduce its attractiveness to the public."

Gerasimov continued: "We found it strange to hear from the lips of the British secretary a call to us to respond to the positive proposals of the West for talks on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, on a reduction in the "superiority of the Soviet Union" in conventional weapons, and on a global ban on chemical weapons. It is not clear to us whether this is forgetfulness concerning our proposals, simply an unwillingness to take a businesslike, proper attitude to the constructive ideas of the other side, or an attempt simply to pretend that there have been none."

Quoting Geoffrey Howe in Brighton as saying "We are realists, not naive optimists," the USSR Foreign Ministry representative continued: "Realism consists not in inflaming suspiciousness and distrust, or of seeing each other not as partners, but as enemies. Today realism means having an unbiased approach toward each other's ideas, developing mutual understanding, and jointly seeking ways to a more secure world.

Comments on Afghan Situation

LD2010153688 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 20 Oct 88

[All names as received]

[Text] October 20 TASS—Afghan counterrevolutionaries are carrying out a policy of terror against their own people, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, speaking at a briefing in Moscow today. He said that massive bombardment of big towns and administrative centres of provinces of the Republic of Afghanistan was continuing.

The recent bombardments of a number of districts of Kabul have taken a toll of 26 lives, 29 people were injured, among them three children.

Extremists from the Afghan opposition "hit a heavy strike also on Afghanistan's national culture and art. Well-known Afghan singer and composer Holmayun Razbar and his wife were killed in bombardment of the Kabul airport on October 19. Their little daughter was gravely wounded", said the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

These are not the first victims among Afghan workers in culture and art, said Gennadiy Gerasimov. Cinema and theatre actor Rauffuddin, Afghan singer Hale Karabagi, woman singer Shirin Roksana, singers Nagarhan, Salim Saheb, Mohammad Khan, musicians Mohammad Sharif, Abdulla, Mohammad Sabir, Mohammad Haqin, Mohammad Naib and many others lost their lives in terrorist acts in the past one year and a half.

"Their deaths evince once again that activities of the armed opposition, who use jet shells [as received] received from Pakistan to bombard dwelling districts of Kabul and other towns of the country, are directed against the Afghan people, their cultural values, at destruction of national cadres of Afghanistan."

'International' Program on Poland, Afghanistan

LD2010173088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 20 Oct 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Igor Surguchev with Vsevolod Ivanovich Sova, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department; Vasiliy Lesovik, Warsaw correspondent; Aleksandr Malikov, Afghanistan correspondent; commentator Vladimir Pasko; and commentator Sergey Pravdin]

[Passage omitted] [Surguchev] Vasiliy Ignatyevich Kovalenko from Ust Labinsk in Krasnodar Kray is interested in the stance of the PPR's Government concerning the leaders of the former Solidarity. He is surprised that Poland's authorities have a kindly attitude toward them, as the author of the letter puts it. Our Warsaw correspondent, Vasiliy Lesovik, will help us throw some light on this topic.

[Lesovik] I would like to recall briefly how this organization, the so-called Solidarity trade union, emerged. Its structures came into being at the beginning of the 1980's as a movement against bureaucracy, abuse of power, and the distortion of socialism. Sadly, antisocialist forces soon came to be the leaders of these structures following the wave of workers protests. As a consequence of this, the organization was disbanded. But many thousands of people dedicated to the ideas of socialism were part of its ranks, actively or passively. By the way, today quite a few of these people, former Solidarity activists, are taking part energetically in the movement of the new trade unions or occupy various posts in local organs of authority and organs of state power. The Polish leadership is prepared to embark and is embarking on dialogue and cooperation with everyone who desires to strengthen Poland's role and prestige as a socialist state.

At the moment, Poland is going through a difficult period, with economic difficulties, inflation, big foreign debts, and destabilization in the domestic market. Under the pressure of problems which have come to a head, the government resigned a month ago, and a new one has been formed. In Poland this government is now called the government of convinced reformers.

Chief attention within the country (?and outside it) is concentrated on the upcoming roundtable meeting, which is to begin very soon. The essence of this meeting is a dialogue with anyone who is prepared to cooperate with the government for the sake of national harmony and for the good of Poles and their country. Among those invited to sit at this table are figures from the so-called constructive opposition, that is, those who are prepared to put forward their program and not to create problems, but to tackle existing ones together.

The Polish opposition is not uniform; it includes both purely adventurist elements and people who are moderate. The process of forming a new political culture, based on deep political and economic reforms and on the principles of democratization of life, is in progress in the country. Some welcome it, others are nonplussed—for there are people trying to use it for their own ends, striving to use blackmail and the threat of strikes to start an acute political struggle.

[Surguchev] I think the despatch from Warsaw explains the matter which interests Comrade Kovalenko. It follows that the Polish authorities' attitide toward the leaders of the former Solidarity is determined by the new political climate being established in the country, the desire not to aggravate the situation but to seek ways for mutual understanding with the opposition and to draw it into a democratic process of adoption of political decisions. I do not think this has anything to do with kindliness of the Polish leadership toward the figures of the former Solidarity, but is connected with its transition to new forms of relations with the opposition which are more in line with the course of democratization and with today's realities in Poland. [passage omitted]

[Surguchev] Many listeners continue to touch upon the Afghan theme in their letters. Some of them at times utter abrupt judgments and pose most acute questions, as well as express their critical opinion on the involvement of the Soviet troop contingent in events in Afghanistan. In connection with this, I asked my colleague Aleksandr Malikov to speak on a number of matters raised in the letters of our listeners. I hand you over to him:

[Malikov] There are many aspects of restructuring in our society. You, comrades, have naturally sensed how it has brought to life many processes that were formerly slumbering, including at times a painful reassessment of the past, of our history. We now assess in a new way not just what is happening inside our home, but also beyond its threshold. This applies in no small sense to the situation in Afghanistan, too. The attitude toward that situation has certainly changed considerably. We are leaving that country, on the military side of things. The difficulty has been in more than just making the decision; as things have transpired, implementing it has been no less difficult. What is the point in not admitting that we are being impeded, that there are attempts to knock us off the road home? Not only individual attacks on the withdrawing soldiers are involved. The Geneva agreements are being violated brazenly—you could hardly describe it as anything else—particularly by Pakistan and the United States, which are aspiring to bring their proteges to power in Kabul at any cost.

I can say, for example, that during the current series of battles for the southern Afghan city of Qandahar, up to 20 vehicles brimming with weapons for the rebels arrive daily from Pakistan. These consignments also include products of the Chinese arms industry. So our listener Ivan Nikolayevich Kuratov, from the town of Saki, is right when he writes about artillery guns of Chinese make which are indeed currently shelling many Afghan cities.

As for the despatch of those armaments, this is, as they say, a matter of technique. The only thing I would point out is that China has in fact been sending its weapons into Afghanistan for no less than 10 years.

As we are talking about the siege on some cities in the country by armed Afghan groups, I would like just to answer in literally a few words another question you asked, dear Ivan Nikolayevich, about what part of the territory is controlled by the opposition forces. Your letter mentions a figure evidently derived from certain foreign sources—you name 80 percent. To be frank, it is just impossible to calculate this accurately. That is on the one hand. On the other, the entire political and business life of Afghanistan is traditionally centered on the cities, so that actual control over the situation in the country belongs to the forces who control the cities. I will remind you that the opposition forces have not yet gotten their hands on a single provincial center in the country of any significance. Testifying to this is the fact that the hastily drafted so- called government in exile is to this day, figuratively speaking, sitting on its suitcases in Pakistan in the city of Peshawar.

As for one more aspect of the armed confrontation continuing in the country, and namely cases of desertion from the ranks of the Afghan Army, which another listener—student Maya Zakukhin—asks us about, such instances do happen. However, there is nothing sensational about this. After all, in any civil war there have always been turncoats and traitors, that is people of weak will and ing firm convictions and principles. But there can be no talk of the mass exodus about which the Western media clamors, of course. Otherwise, judge for yourselves, who culd so successfully have been rebuffing the rebels in the cities from where our troops have been totally withdrawn? By the way, about 300 rebels have been killed and as many wounded since October this year in that same Qandahar which is to this day too much for the armed opposition. Just literally this morning the news agencies reported about the routing of a major formation of rebels along the main highway passing through the province of Konduz.

All these facts clarify, I hope, the situation which has come about at the present time in Qandahar and Konduz, which is also asked about by Comrade Tortgolinov from Shamanovka in the Kazakh SSR. [passage omitted]

[Surguchev] Ivan Andreyevich Grezinov, from Krasnodar, asks: What is the sum spent by our country per year on assistance to Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia and other countries? Who determines the size of the assistance and in what normative documents is it confirmed? How and when are our people informed about it? I asked my colleague Vladimir Pasko to prepare an answer for Comrade Grezinov.

[Pasko] Insofar as the extent of assistance is concerned, I was unable to find overall figures. News on this matter appears in our press, but it concerns individual countries and only some areas of assistance—economic, humanitarian, through UN channels, the Red Cross and public organizations. As a rule, figures are not given. Usually it is said that in providing assistance to a particular country, we have built or are building there some number of installations, hospitals, schools, or enterprises. It is known, however, that in participating in the development of the economic and scientific-technical potential of particular countries, we do this not for free. We receive in recompense foodstuffs, industrial and agricultural raw materials, and consumer goods on a contractual basis. You may ask: What then does the aid consist of?

It is expressed first in the fact that we give an affirmative answer to the requests made to us, and second in the privileged conditions under which we afford assistance. That means granting credit with a lower interest rate, with a longer repayment period, and so on.

It is hard to say if anyone calculates and indeed whether it is even possible to calculate the exact amount of assistance. In any case, the specialists whom I turned to were unable to clarify this matter. It is known that in several countries, aid to foreign states is registered in a separate act of legislature when the draft budgets for a new fiscal year is discussed. A somewhat different practice has developed in our country. Intergovernmental agreements pass through the Supreme Soviet, and they are examined during ratification. Agreements concluded at government level are embodied in draft plans of budgets which, as you are aware, are also affirmed by the Supreme Soviet. Only some acts of assistance are not examined by it—for instance, those performed by public organizations. But that is a small part.

Finally, the last question which a listener touches on—that of glasnost. Can we generally discuss in public the foreign policy acts of the government, including provision of assistance to foreign states? This is a tough question. Academician Arbatov notes, for example, that foreign policy affairs have affected and do affect the interests of many countries. They demand a delicate approach to public discussion, or even abstention from such. But the line of our party toward democratization of public life is spreading to foreign policy too.

At the 19th party conference, it was clearly stated that within the framework of reform in the political system, we are to create an active mechanism with constitutional powers for businesslike and competent discussion of matters of foreign policy. The materials of the party conference and the discussion underway in the country now allow us to judge the tendency here. There is talk of extending the powers of the commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of introducing to its functions open hearings on certain international problems; of ministers and other high-ranking officials responding to informal inquiries from the deputies; and of putting up fundamental foreign policy decisions for nationwide debate, using for this purpose referendums and public opinion polls. In other words, the line of the party toward maximum glasnost in these matters too is absolutely clear. [passage omitted]

[Surguchev] Roza Ivanovna Smirnova from Novosibirsk asks us to tell her about trade relations between our country and India. In particular, she is interested in what we purchase in India. The trade and economic relations between India and the Soviet Union are a natural continuation of our close friendly ties in the spheres of politics, culture, and other areas. But the fall of world oil and oil product prices, items which in recent years have become regrettably the main Soviet exports, has led to a significant decline in trade turnover. A shortage of rupee funds has forced Soviet organizations to reduce purchases in India. In 1985-87 the trade turnover fell from R3.1 billion to 2.2 billion. but our countries are seeking opportunities to correct the situation. By 1992 plans are to increase the mutual trade turnover by a factor of 2.5. India gets machinery and tools and technology from our country while delivering in turn mostly consumer goods. These are, among other things, tea, coffee, garments, cosmetics, footwear, medicines, and pharmaceutical preparations. In addition to the traditional export goods, India is expanding its deliveries of high-quality industrial wares—parts of automobiles, dairy farm equipment, textile-pattern machines, and complex electronic products, including personal computers.

Drobkov 'International Review' of Week's Events

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[Vladislav Drobkov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] Glancing over the events of the week which has just ended, one cannot help returning to the thought of how contradictory, complex, but at the same time interconnected the world surrounding us is. How closely interwoven are joyful and tragic events, victories and defeats for reason and common sense, successes for progress and intrigues by the reaction, the quest for lasting peace and the fueling of military conflicts.

In many of these events it is hard to find a common denominator, to trace a single trend. Sometimes so many opposing forces appear in a particular hot spot that it is hard even to compile a model of the likely development of events.

Nonetheless the events of recent days have provided new evidence of how the desire for mutual understanding and cooperation is increasingly becoming dominant in relations between states with different social systems, of how efforts for a political solution of existing conflicts are bearing their first fruit, and of how force is yielding priority to reason.

Constructing a Common Home in Europe [subhead]

Last week was a period of marked increase in diplomatic activity on the European salient. Figuratively speaking, new "bricks" of bilateral and multilateral relations and contacts were laid at the foundation of the "common European home."

I shall enumerate just a few of them. There was the official visit to the USSR by Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. On Thursday Ciriaco de Mita, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers, also arrived in our country on an official visit. E.A. Shevardnadze, who was in Paris, had a series of meetings and talks with French leaders. L.N. Zaykov paid a working visit to Poland. D.T. Yazov was in Bulgaria heading a Soviet military delegation. The CEMA Executive Committee session in Moscow discussed questions of the restructuring of the member countries' cooperation mechanism and of socialist economic integration, as well as prospects for cooperation with the EEC.

During these meetings and talks there was an in-depth exchange of opinions on topical questions of the international situation, and an examination of key problems of bilateral and multilateral relations and ways to create favorable conditions for continuing efforts toward disarmament and the consolidation of peace and security in Europe.

There is no need to sum up in detail the results of all these contacts—they have been reported extensively. It is important and obvious that they have all helped to build the "European home" in which the peoples of our part of the world can coexist on the basis of the principles of good-neighborliness and cooperation, setting a constructive example to the population of other regions and to the inhabitants of the entire planet.

Real prerequisites for building this home exist. Essentially the construction is already under way on the basis of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. But the problem is that the pace at which the "European home" is being erected lags behind initial hopes. Its "construction site" is too encumbered with obstacles of weapons and outdated distrust, and it is not that easy to dismantle them. An example is the truly titanic efforts required for the dismantling that has begun of the palisade of intermediate-range nuclear missiles. What about the many decades spent recognizing the reality that two economic groupings exist, and the establishing of normal relations between them? What can we say of the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments, which have been continuing for nearly 15 years and which, alas, have not only failed to lead to their reduction but even to their containment at former levels?

We will not try to assign responsibility for this "never-ending construction." I think that both the West and East have something with which to reproach themselves. The point lies elsewhere. It is essential to outline a schedule for carrying out "construction and installation work" which is more realistic and which is as tight and dynamic as possible. This schedule must be drawn up not by the old yardsticks and blueprints, which have given a bad account of themselves, but by arming ourselves with nonstandard approaches, which have already proved their effectiveness.

For instance, the kind of approaches used during the Soviet-U.S. summit in Reykjavik, whose second anniversary we celebrated this week. A kind of qualitative leap was accomplished there, a breakthrough to the practical application of the new political thinking. A bold, unexpected alternative was proposed there which led the talks out of the forest of confused ideas and onto the operational expanse of large-scale political decisions. And although the opportunities and prospects which had emerged could not be utilized successfully immediately, the path was open to the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and to the coordinated elimination, for the first time in history, of a part of the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the United States.

I think a similar breakthrough is needed again now. After all, we cannot fail to see the danger that the very promising idea of talks on the mutual balanced reduction of armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals may get bogged down in the usual rut. At the Vienna meeting, where the mandate for these talks is being worked out, for the second year now diplomats have been unable to agree on their subject matter, geographical framework, and main goals. It is not the diplomats alone who are to blame for this. In my view the blame lies in the traditional nature of the approach to the problem of the reduction of conventional arms, and in the inertia of the past, whereby each side has tried to reserve the best terms for itself.

Now, it is true, the prospects have appeared in Vienna for elaborating a mutually acceptable solution. There is the hope that the talks on conventional arms themselves can begin before the end of this year. However, it seems to me to be important not so much to initiate talks as rapidly as possible as to ensure their success. After all, it is scarcely permissible to conduct talks for another 15 years while at the same time building up and improving conventional arsenals. Especially considering that they already approach nuclear weapons in terms of their destructive properties.

That means we must try to find a way out of the impasse which has taken shape. Set an example, as the Soviet Union has already done on the missile problem, of extraordinary, bold thinking. The world will assess on merit our desire to truly radically resolve the problem of arms reduction.

Europe, whose shoulders are now pressed by the brunt of conventional armaments, is the most suitable area for us to begin ridding ourselves of this sinister load. Then the construction of the common "European home" will be far easier.

Armada's powerlessness [subhead]

The lack of foundation beneath old methods of influencing international problems, which is increasingly evident, is borne out by recent events in the Persian Gulf.

Everyone remembers how, taking advantage of the Iran-Iraq conflict and the increasing attacks on tankers, the United States and a number of its NATO allies brought into the Gulf's waters a large-scale armada of warships which assumed the functions of an international policeman.

The results of this action were far from brilliant. Not only did the attacks on tankers and oil platforms become increasingly fierce right under the nose of several dozen of the Western allies' most modern warships (in all about 600 ships under the flags of many countries have been attacked during the "tanker war" in the region), and not only did an Iraqi fighter almost sink a U.S. destroyer with a French missile, but a British destroyer crashed with a merchant ship which... it was escorting. The U.S. missile cruiser the "Vincennes" shot down over the Gulf an Iranian airliner with 300 civilians on board.

The adventure that involved knocking together a Western armada on the pretext of "defending freedom of international navigation" in the Persian Gulf has thus become one more eloquent testimony to the powerlessness of force—to the futility of using sophisticated methods of strong-arm diplomacy in our age: of using "gunboat diplomacy" even if it has been transformed into "aircraft carrier diplomacy."

The UN-assisted search for a mutually acceptable and lasting political settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict makes the presence in Persian Gulf waters of the warships of the United States and several of its NATO allies even more inappropriate. As Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati stated recently, now "there is no justification for the U.S. Navy presence. It must leave the region as soon as possible so that peace and concord without further foreign interference may be restored among the Persian Gulf nations."

It seems to me that the Western capitals are beginning to understand that continuing to perform policeman functions in the Persian Gulf can result only in further "loss of face" for them. Under these conditions the Italian Defense Ministry has announced that the ships of that country's Navy in the Persian Gulf intend to restrict their functions to monitoring the passage of ships using electronic devices and are renouncing the escorting of tankers. Even earlier the Netherlands, Belgium, and France began to wind down their navies' operations in the Gulf.

To judge by recent events, even Washington has considered it a good thing to refuse to escort Kuwaiti tankers under the U.S. flag. Now, as the White House has stated, only in the event of a threatened attack on the tankers can the latter count on aid from the U.S. Air Force. But for the time being over 20 U.S. warships remain in the Gulf region. It is true, according to U.S. newspaper reports, that in the next few months their number should drop to 6-7. To all appearances the United States has absolutely no intention of definitively abandoning its militarist presence in the Persian Gulf. But this is wrong, and it is time it did abandon this presence. The Pentagon should get used to the idea that far from all international conflicts can be "settled" with the aid of a "big stick."

Maneuvers in an Impasse [subhead]

Yes, the world is changing and the problems facing the present day can no longer be resolved using the yardsticks of the past. But this, alas, by no means guarantees a universal transition to more civilized, safer, and more constructive methods of untying complex knots of crisis. Where attempts continue to be made to dictate one people's will to another, to seek one-sided advantages, and to gamble on force, achieving a settlement is sometimes very complex. The situation in southern Africa is an example of this.

Recently prospects have appeared in this region for the peaceful political solution of the whole package of problems caused by the conflict between the RSA and its neighbors.

As is well known, neither the broad support for the racist regime from the imperialist powers, nor its military adventures against neighboring countries, nor the stepping up of repression within the apartheid state have been able to extinguish the flame of the national liberation struggle in this region. Moreover, the foundations of the white minority government are becoming increasingly unstable. It is now encountering not only the expanding liberation movement of the "colored" population, which is now being joined by some of the democratic forces of the white community, it is also becoming the target for attacks by right-wing circles, which accuse it of weakness. All this is aggravated by mounting economic difficulties.

In this situation the regime has been obliged to maneuver, to seek ways of normalizing relations with the neighboring "Frontline" States.

The agreement of P. Botha's government to enter quadripartite talks on the settlement of the situation in Namibia, which has been languishing under the oppression of the South African racists for over 4 decades, was a reflection of this. In addition to the RSA, representatives of Angola, Cuba, and the United State are taking part in the talks. Routine, unofficial consultations between these countries' delegations were held in New York recently.

These consultations almost caused a sensation. THE NEW YORK TIMES reported that they allegedly reached agreement on a major unresolved problem—the schedule for withdrawing the Cuban troops that are in Angola at the request of that country's government. But the sensation did not even last a day. The head of the Cuban delegation at the talks met with the UN secretary general and informed him of the groundlessness of the NEW YORK TIMES report. He announced that no agreement had been reached during the consultations but that differences had again emerged between the sides' positions. The process of negotiations has not been broken off, but the date of the next meeting has not been set either.

The RSA's unconstructive position has thus again caused a deadlock in the process—begun with such difficulty—of searching for a political settlement of the problem. This search promised to bring peace and independence to Namibia's long-suffering land.

The implementation of a possible settlement continues to be hampered by Pretoria's desire to retain control over Namibia as long as possible and, if it withdraws, to ensure that power in that country is seized by forces sympathetic to the racists. That is why, alongside the dragging out of the quadripartite talks, in which the RSA is actively helping the United States, Pretoria is building up repressions against the Namibian independence fighters from the ranks of the South-West African People's Organization and supporting the anti-Angolan National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] grouping. In recent days new reports have come in on the terror of the RSA occupation troops in Namibia and of the crimes of the UNITA mercenaries armed through funds from the U.S. and RSA special services. These reports attest to the racist regime's unaltered desire to impose on Namibia a "settlement" which would safeguard Pretoria's interests.

This prospect will hardly suit the region's peoples. The longer the RSA racists try to maneuver in the impasse they have themselves created, the more acute and tense the situation in southern Africa will be.

Officials on Foreign Policy, Nuclear Power

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[From the Radio 2 "Jimmy Young Live from Moscow" program with Aleksey Arbatov, deputy head of department at the Institute of International Economics, and Boris Semenov, deputy head of the State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Young] The withdrawal of 115,000 Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the Soviet Union beginning to disengage in Nicaragua, Mozambique, and Kampuchea appear to mark a potential turning point in East-West relations, and the Soviets also say that there is change in their military thinking from an offensive strategy to a defensive strategy. In August Frank Carlucci became the first American defense secretary to visit Moscow officially, and when at the same time the Soviets began to blow up the 1,752 missiles scrapped under the INF Treaty, a Soviet official called it "the real dawn of the disarmament era." Now the question is, of course: Is it? Well, in the studio with me is Aleksey Arbatov from the Institute of International Economics. Good morning to you.

[Arbatov] Good morning.

[Young] In a recent speech President Gorbachev said what was needed, he said, was not just a refinement of foreign policy but its determined reshaping. Is that in fact what is now happening?

[Arbatov] Yes, I think so.

[Young] Under these new policies of glasnost and perestroyka, which I was talking to Joe Adamov about just now, openness and reform in other words, is there a new freedom do you think, as he seemed to be saying, that there were mistakes made in the past and one can in fact now admit them?

[Arbatov] I think there is a new freedom of discussion, openness but I would admit that still foreign policy area somewhat lags behind developments in glasnost and perestroyka in economics and internal politics of the Soviet Union. There is still a lot to be done to bring our foreign policy and military policy to the level of glasnost and perestroyka which already exist in the internal life of the Soviet Union.

[Young] In the area of foreign policy, for instance, did the occupation of Afghanistan count as perhaps the most serious mistake in foreign policy in recent years?

[Arbatov] Opinions differ. Some people think that it was mistake from the beginning, others think that it was necessary though very difficult step. The mistake was to continue for so long without trying more actively to disengage, establish peaceful solution, peaceful conditions in Afghanistan. Others think—the third group of people, I would define it—think that everything was done just correctly, though of course we suffered heavy losses. It was tragic, very expensive, but necessary. And now we are doing correct thing: to disengage precisely at this moment.

[Young] What about the openness—if you like—at home here in the Soviet Union about it. I mean: Was it openly discussed, were the media open about it, did the public know exactly what going on?

[Arbatov] In the past?

[Young] Yes.

[Arbatov] No.

[Young] No. But now?

[Arbatov] Now the discussion is developing very intensively. We have different, sometimes very sharply different points of view. A lot of emotions of course surround this question, because with heavy losses it's always emotional. And if you take into account many nations faced this situation in the past; you have families of those lost in the war; it's very difficult for them to reconcile themselves with the fact that all the enterprise was a mkstake and it was vain, in vain, for nothing. Very brave emotional aspects are involved into this problem.

[Young] Now, I've read estimates that the Soviet Union has been spending something on the order of between 15 and 20 percent of its national income on military, and that the key to President Gorbachev's success or failure will be how much of that spending he can actually swing from the military economy into the civilian economy, so to speak. Now, is it the need, do you think, to spend less on weapons and more on the civilian sector that's the main force between the drive for arms control, disarmament, disengagement in Afghanistan and in other parts of the world?

[Arbatov] Well, expressing my own point of view, I would very strongly disagree with this notion.

[Young] Yes. Why's that?

[Arbatov] Because the major problem of our economic stagnation is not heavy military spending but inefficient economic mechanism, and if we imagined fantastically we could stop spending on defense tomorrow, not spending a ruble, and applied all the saved resources to inefficient economic mechanism it will not bring any serious results. It will be like sowing seeds at the asphalt. On the other hand, if we are successful in rebuilding, reforming the economy, we will have quick development and quickly raising standard of living of the people even without saving on the defense spending—which doesn't mean that the money saved cannot be used properly. It can be used and it would be very nice to use money not on defense, not on military but on civilian purposes.

[Young] Are you saying that the general feeling here then is that you should not cut back on defense, that you should simply make the system, the civil end of the system, more efficient, but still keep spending the same amount on defense?

[Arbatov] No, I also cannot disagree with this as well [as heard]. There is a widespread feeling that we have to spend as little on defense as it will be possible from our national security point of view.

[Young] Right.

[Arbatov] Saying that I want to repeat that the key to our economic development is economic reform. This reform could use as much money as possible saved from military purposes, but it is not the panacea, it is not the salvation. That is why I disagreed with your preliminary assumption. I want to repeat that the necessity to save money for economic purposes is not the major driving force behind Soviet perestroyka, reforming, reshaping of Soviet foreign policy.

[Young] Let me just ask you one...[changes thought] Because it's a related matter, and it's quite interesting. The Soviet ambassador—the reason I asked the question actually—the Soviet ambassador to Bonn said in June, he said: America...

[Arbatov, interrupting] Kvitsinskiy??

[Young] The Soviet ambassador.

[Arbatov] Kvitsinskiy.

[Young] Yes. [He] said America uses its economic muscle more than its military power. And he said: That's why a reduction in our military potential must be combined with adequate growth in the country's economic potential. So he did seem to be linking the two things, if you see what I mean.

[Arbatov] There is a relationship. There are certain nonproductive areas of Soviet economy like, for instance, health, education, social security—which could use expansion of appropriations without any profound radical economic reform. But the major—the key areas of economy—that's industry, consumer goods, agriculture—they would not be saved by miracle if we apply all the money to it. The key is to use economic reform, to increase productivity, to make the mechanism effective, to restrict central planning, that's the key to this question...

[Young, interrupting] It's the system. You've got to...

[Arbatov, interrupting] The system.

[Young] Change the system. Yes?

[Arbatov] The system. Yes.

[Young] Just before we leave the military side of what we were talking about, American Defense Secretary Carlucci said, when he visited here in August, he said: We have difficulty—this is to do with the Soviets' saying that they were going to shift from an offensive policy to a defensive policy—and Carlucci said: We have difficulty in reconciling a defensive doctrine with what we see in Soviet force structure and operational strategies, and we see no shift of emphasis to the kind of forces typically associated with defense. In fact he said: What troubles people is that the Soviet Union continues to develop forces far in excess of what it needs for defense—forces designed for massive offensive operations. Now, in order to—I mean—let us assume for the moment that NATO and the West want to believe you, if you see what I mean, haven't you got to make the shift an obvious one for them to be able to believe you?

[Arbatov] Well, you know, we are suggesting equal negotiations to the NATO and I do not think that we have to pay access rate, so to say, to the table of negotiations. It's up to the West to believe us or not. The other...[changes thought] Having said that, I would say that we should do nothing in my opinion specifically to persuade in our good intentions. All things like that they only provoke suspicions and a lot of criticism. We should work ourselves on reshaping our military policy, military programs or structures, in consistence with the newly developed military doctrine which of course must rely on defensive strategy, operational planning, force levels, and military programs. On the other hand, this process takes time, and I cannot say that all the questions about defensive doctrine are already fixed. There is a discussion going on in the Soviet Union amongst specialists to define more precisely: What does it mean—defense? For instance, what does it mean—defense in strategic nuclear weapons?

[Young] But some people would say that you've got far more military hardware and people in Europe than you need for purely defensive purposes—in fact, Carlucci said exactly that.

[Arbatov] Well, Carlucci of course is a great authority, but I will allow myself to disagree with him. And say that there is in my opinion—not everything which we have in Europe is rational, but I wouldn't say that we have such a tremendous superiority. There are asymmetries between two blocs. For instance, the West has much more strike aircraft. So in this area it is not possible to say that we have far more in excess of what is needed for defensive purposes—as, if you are talking about tanks, about armored forces, here, granted, I absolutely agree that we have far more than is needed for defensive purposes, not because we are playing aggression, but rather because of the uncontrolled development of strategic and technological organizational traditions during the last 40 years. We won the Second World War with tanks and continued to produce them after the war. Americans won the war with aircraft carriers and continued to produce them.

[Young] And would your military people be loath to see a great scaling-down—because of course military people the world over love power, don't they? And would they be loath to see that power scaled down?

[Arbatov] Well, let's be logical in our assessment of the situation. Military people, if they are rational military people—they don't just like sheer power. They like to have enough forces to fulfil military tasks, strategy, which is ordered to them to fulfill. If they have offensive to fulfill they will want some kinds of power, some levels of power; if they are now ordered to have defensive strategy they will ask different kinds of weapons, they will reconcile themselves with lower kinds of armed forces.

[Young] But just before we leave this particular area,that is really what I was trying to get at. I mean, can you see that there is a shift to a positive defensive strategy?

[Arbatov] Yes, absolutely.

[Young] Okay. Now, let me just ask you: What about—away from the purely—the military end of things—what about the Soviets' overall approach to the countries to the East? I mean, to China and Japan. Do you think you will be moving to very much closer relations with China and Japan?

[Arbatov] Personally, I would like to. We are paying great attention to our Eastern neighbors now. Among them is also the United States, not only China and Japan. But I would like to make this area even higher on our list of national foreign policy priorities. It's necessary to reduce the military deployments along the Soviet-Chinese borders. There are quite a large number of Soviet troops deployed there. Some sources indicate that there are almost one-third of the Soviet forces deployed on the Chinese borders, and one half of Chinese military forces. There is absolutely no political reason to have this high level of military confrontation. I would like to see the border demilitarized altogether. The same goes for Japan. We do not need such great naval and air force deployments in the Far East. But of course the Soviet Union cannot do it unilaterally. It will demand reciprocity from both China and Japan and the United States, which have very strong forward-based military power in the western Pacific. We are suggesting this. Probably we should be more active.

[Young] Active in what way?

[Arbatov] In pressing for negotiations on the subject of reduction of ground and air force confrontation with China and naval deployments and air force deployments with Japan and the United States.

[Young] Could I ask you finally: When you look at the world scene as far as peace is concerned, are you an optimist?

[Arbatov] I am realistic optimist. I think that of course not everything depends on the Soviet Union, and the better ways to solve international problems, including military, security problems, is through negotiations. By the way, it is the best way, the cheapest way, to move toward defensive strategy. It's to do it on reciprocal basis through arms reductions and limitations. I'm an optimist because it seem to me that political and economic problems and patterns of the world now have outgrown and changed greatly and do not demand this existing structure of military confrontation in the world. The objective ground is changing and we have to bring military balance of power, military situation, in consistence with the changing economic and political developments.

[Young] It's always a pleasure to talk to an optimist on the program.

[Arbatov] A pleasure to talk to you.

[Young] Thank you, thank you very much, indeed. [passage omitted]

[Young] Now, the scale of the accident at Chernobyl was such that it actually changed the way in which Soviet authorities reacted to subsequent disasters, and indeed Mr Gorbachev has used the story of Chernobyl as an example of the failure of the old Soviet system of planning and engineering. But he has not as yet changed the existing Soviet nuclear energy plan and that calls for the amount of power generated by nuclear stations to double from the present 10 percent to 20 percent by 1990 and to then double again to 40 percent by the end of the century. And there is said to be, incidentally, some unease about all this among many Soviet citizens. Anyway, in the studio with me to talk to me about it is Boris Semenov, deputy head of the State Committee on Nuclear Power. Good morning to you.

[Semenov] Good morning.

[Young] The Soviet Union is the world's largest producer of oil and gas and I read that you recently announced very big new oil finds in the Arctic and the Caspian Sea, and I just wondered why you are therefore putting so very much emphasis on nuclear power.

[Semenov] Well, you are right saying that we're the richest probably in the world in natural resources, but the main problem is where these resources are located. And actually the situation is such that about 80 percent of our natural resources are located in the very remote part of the Soviet Union where about 20 percent of population or 20 percent, roughly speaking, of energy requirements are needed. And vice versa. So this is the answer. So in most industrialized part of the Soviet Union, in the European part of the Soviet Union, we have tremendous energy requirements and practically we don't have any more natural resources.

[Young] So in fact—I mean in spite of Chernobyl, which was a terrible disaster by anybody's standards—you are still going to press on with the plan as I outlined it at the beginning of this talk.

[Semenov] Similar to what you outlined, but not exactly. You mentioned some figures which are not exact. I mean...

[Young, interrupting] Well, it was 10 to 20 by 1990, and 20 to 40 by the end of the century.

[Semenov] Yes, well, this was very preliminary estimate, and of course the lessons of Chernobyl, I mean, played some role. The lessons of Chernobyl didn't change our general attitude to necessity of nuclear power development. But it may end...[changes thought] It does actually change the rate, let's say, of our nuclear power introduction somehow. Not the philosophy, not the strategy, but the rate.

[Young] Let me just stay on Chernobyl for a minute. In April this year PRAVDA severely criticized the management of the Chernobyl plant. It said—because it kept the surviving reactors there in action after the disaster had actually happened, and despite knowing, it said, full well they still were suffering from serious defects. Now, since PRAVDA published it, obviously it must be true. What's the situation at Chernobyl now?

[Semenov] Well, the situation is rather different. After the accident the scientists and the technicians in Chernobyl—and not only in Chernobyl, I would like to stress, but at any power station existing and to be planned—are introducing, the scientists and specialists are introducing number of changes—very significant. This depends on the reactor type, of course. If you take the Chernobyl power plant [words indistinct] of advances, of advancements, of changes, technological changes, the changes in the preparation of the personnel, changes in the physical characteristics of the reactor core, and so on, have been introduced in order to increase safety of these reactors. So the pre-Chernobyl reactor is not the same RBMK-type reactor which exists in Chernobyl compared to the reactor which exists now. It's more safe.

[Young] Am I correct in thinking that the reactor at Chernobyl was a graphite moderator reactor, called, as you say, in English the RBMK—am I correct in saying that there are 14 of those still in action now?

[Semenov] That's right, that's right. But none of them is going to be built any further. I mean, only those reactors which were in substantial...

[Young, interrupting] But you're still using those. The reason I mention it...

[Semenov, interrupting] Yes, we are using...

[Young, interrupting] Just over a month ago another Soviet nuclear plant at Ignalina using the same type of reactor as Chernobyl caught fire. IZVESTIYA said it was a serious incident and the report said work was suspended because of concern about its safety. It said: due to possible design faults. Now, there does seem to be a lot of concern and worry about this type of reactor which, although as you rightly say you're not going to build any more of them, but there are still 14 of them actually ongoing.

[Semenov] Fourteen of them actually ongoing, but what I was about to say and actually started saying, that is, they are different reactors from point of view of safety. They are the same, of course, but lot of safety measures have been inroduced which significantly increase safety level of these reactors. We change number of control rods' introduction into core, we are changing the arrangement of the core in order to increase its safety. It's, of course, specialist matter; I can explain you in more detail, but, my friend, not like this...

[Young, interrupting] (laughing) You've lost me already.

[Semenov] (laughing) Yes.

[Young] Let me just ask you...

[Semenov, interrupting] So, a number of measures have been introduced in order to change the safety, to significantly increase the safety of this reactor type.

[Young] Let me just read you one thing and then we'll leave the subject and come back onto something else. Valeriy Legasov, who investigated Chernobyl, said before he died in April this year, he said: We haven't removed the main cause of the Chernobyl disaster. Indeed, he said: It cannot be removed, because it lies with bad construction, failure to invest in the necessary research and development, failure to use a proper team of nuclear plant designers when this reactor type was being planned. And he concluded by saying: To this day we have not found and we will not find a reliable system for this type of power station. Now, are you saying that in spite of him saying all those things that you still managed to make these things safe?

[Semenov] Well, you know, "safe" means number of levels, or degrees. You cannot construct or design any tool which is absolutely safe. So there are degrees of safety. And what I was trying to say is that degree of safety today of Chernobyl-type reactor is much higher than degree of safety before the Chernobyl. And on the other side I must admit that degree of safety of these reactors is not quite comparable with degree of safety, let's say, of other reactor types. Somehow, somehow, for some special reasons- - I mean we increased significantly safety, but for instance the Chernobyl reactor type doesn't have any containment building, if you know what does it mean. Containment. So, you know, from this point of view Legasov is right that they are designed in such a way that we are not able to build a containment, but we can introduce some auxiliary system which somehow compensates for lack of containment.

[Young] Would there be any way in which you could just literally not use the 14 that are still in existence and use the better designs that you are now bringing in?

[Semenov] Yes, what we are going to do...[changes thought] As I mentioned, we increased safety of those which are in operation—one. We decided not to build any further reactors—second. But, by the way I should mention that we decided to decrease the ratio. The share of this reactor in our nuclear power industry, even before the Chernobyl, so it was not only because of Chernobyl. You know, now we have about 50-50, Chernobyl types reactors-other reactor types.

[Young] Well, we've talked at great length about the nuclear plants themselves. I just wonder how you're going about tackling the problem of storing nuclear waste, because this is causing a great many headaches at home. I don't know if it's doing the same thing here.

[Semenov] Well, yes, before answering I would like to slightly correct you. I'm not from the State Committee on Nuclear Power, rather on the Utilization of Atomic Energy. Because we have different bodies...

[Young, interrupting] State Commission on...

[Semenov, interrupting] ...the Utilization of Atomic Energy.

[Young] Yes. Smacked bottom for the research staff. Yes, right, so, as I was saying, the storing of nuclear waste: Is that a big problem?

[Semenov] Well, it is a problem; it is very important problem to be finally solved. But we believe that technically it is practically solved already. So, when the time comes that we require reprocessing, and it has already come, and we have reprocessing as many other countries, reprocessing of the fuel—the waste disposal problems as well as final disposal, I mean. Not only storage, but final disposal problems place or depository should be reached. Now, in the Soviet Union, in England, in France, in the United States, we aleady have excellent results achieved in technology of safe treatment and safe disposal. There are such scientific words like vitrification,—probably you know this—bitumization, cementation and so on, depending on the type of wastes, on their activit; you know, we scientists and specialists, we have in our hands already technology which can be introduced in a large scale. But we cannot claim that we test, that we have already experience of large-scale application of this technology.

[Young] You mentioned several countries. Are you suggesting that there is international cooperation...

[Semenov, interrupting] Oh, yes.

[Young, continuing] ...in trying to get this problem sorted out? That you actually talk to the Americans and the French?

[Semenov] Oh, yes. Well, there is very successful international cooperation not only in waste matters, but in nuclear power as well, which we discussed before, and nuclear safety. And this cooperation is carried out on a bilateral basis through IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency, and through other channels. So, we know well what is going on now, let's say in Britain and the United States in this program, in this program, and they know our progress. And we, nuclear specialists, nuclear scientists, I am repeatng, believe that there is a problem still to prove that large-scale commercial operation of waste, of the whole cycle of waste management and disposal, can be arranged in an economical way. But technology is in hand.

[Young] How much research are you doing into alternatives to nuclear power? I mean: wind, sun, wave—things like that?

[Semenov] Well, you know we have rather interesting programs along all these ways. You mentioned wind, solar, tidal energy, geothermal energy. We have tidal prototype plant; we have geothermal prototype plant; we have solar prototype plants, and we are going to build some more, but realistically speaking we can hope, let's say that by the end of the century they may introduce—I don't know—1 percent of the—they can meet 1 percent of total energy requirements. In another 20 years maybe up to 5-7 percent, but not more. So we should utilize these sources, alternative sources of energy, but realistically we should understand that they would not substitute nuclear, coal and oil. And with a time we believe nuclear should slowly substitute coal and oil, and all other alternative sources should go ahead. We are in full support of them, but they are not real competitors so far.

[Young] Let me ask you finally, if I might—we talked about international cooperation just then. What Chernobyl demonstrated very clearly is that a really bad nuclear accident isn't a domestic affair any more. I mean, it concerns everybody, you know, it's international, it's not national. Do you think there should be more, if you like, international control and cooperation over who builds what and where they build it and what they do with the waste when they've got it and so on?

[Semenov] Well, I wouldn't call it control—information, yes. Because when we're starting discussing control, your own government—and I know your own authorities, or French authorities—are strongly against control. As soon as we say: Let's have...[changes thought] In the International Atomic Energy Agency—I am the governor, in the board of governors of this agency—there was a discussion whether we should establish, introduce as compulsory some minimum safety requirements and many Western countries are against this. They would follow, but they wouldn't like to have them mandatory. So, control probably not, but information, awareness, exchange of views—definitely, yes.

[Young] It's very, very interesting to talk to you on the program and thank you very much for coming in. [passage omitted]

Socialism Conference Discusses Ownership Forms

PM1710081588 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No. 42, 15-21 Oct 88 (Signed to Press 13 Oct 88) pp 2, 3

[Candidate of Economic Sciences B. Ivanovskiy report: "Economic Debates: Socialism Means Diversity"]

[Text] *How to utilize economic resources efficiently and ensure growth in the population's living standards? How to enhance receptiveness to the achievements of scientific and technical progress? These were the topics of discussion at an international scientific conference on topical problems of socialism.*

The main report was delivered by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. A summary of the report was published by the central press.

Taking part in the conference were social scientists from 12 socialist countries.

From Administrative Management to Self-Management [subhead]

It is impossible to achieve high efficiency in our economy while preserving the forms of production organization which prevailed during the periods of personality cult and stagnation, according to L. Abalkin (USSR). What is needed is a profound restructuring of all spheres of social life which must be based on historical experience in the development of human civilization, a civilization which, over the millennia, elaborated the most rational forms for its vital functions.

A lengthy transition period is required to overcome backwardness, in the opinion of B. Talas (Hungary). Distorted views of the laws governing the development of socialism in the transition period engender false concepts and unfounded practical solutions (such as the concept of developed socialism). B. Talas believes that, in order to successfully implement the economic transformations now under way, it is necessary to bury the myth which rejects the diversity of forms of economic development. The future socialist society will be distinguished by a stepped-up role for commodity-money and market relations on the basis of diverse forms of social ownership of the means of production.

Property Relations [subhead]

The majority of conference participants saw the identification of state and all-people's forms of ownership as the main cause of the retardation of economic development in the conditions of socialism. State ownership, in the form in which it exists today, is essentially not all-people's ownership, according to R. Belousov (USSR). Its excessive centralization has resulted in working people becoming alienated from it, becoming distanced from production management and participation in income distribution. This takes the form of, for example, the arbitrary expropriation of profits from enterprises which function well and the transfer of these profits to those which function poorly, which "kills off" initiative and any desire to work better.

Apart from the state form of ownership, it is necessary for other forms of ownership—collective and individual—to be improved. Moreover, all forms of ownership must be developed in parallel and must exist only on the principles of efficiency and satisfaction of social needs, according to I. Iliev (Bulgaria).

But the formal transfer of property to labor collectives without the creation of appropriate organizational and legal conditions has virtually no effect on the results of enterprises' work, as the experience of a number of countries shows. In Bulgaria, for example, some state enterprises were leased under appropriate contracts to their labor collectives. But all further transfer was halted because the state of affairs at leased enterprises did not change as expected, I. Iliev noted. This happened because the attention of labor collectives was, as a rule, focused on the solution of current and immediate problems. Questions of future long-term development were often disregarded. Therefore, the achievements of enterprises following leasing to labor collectives were insignificant and short-lived. This is why democratic management must be based on recommendations by highly skilled professional managers, who are almost totally lacking in our country, Cs. Csabo (Hungary) declared.

Plan and Market [subhead]

The role of commodity-monetary relations is enhanced in the conditions of self-management. This means that enterprises will work on the basis of self-capitalization and self-financing. They will themselves set the wage rates and the number of employees. The role of profit and profitability, of credits and prices, will be enhanced. The function of exchange of output will switch from administrative organs (ministries and departments) to a systematically regulated socialist market. The sphere of centralized management will be significantly curtailed. Moreover, the socialist market, as A. Aganbegyan (USSR) put it, will develop both in depth (the intensification of economic accountability principles) and in breadth (the creation of a market for means of production and securities, introduction of elements of competitiveness, curtailment of the range of centrally set prices).

In this context Cs. Csabo believes that proper market relations are effective only when a market for labor and investments (capital investment) exists in parallel with the commodities market.

Difficulties of Reforms [subhead]

They stem mainly from the fact that new elements of the economic mechanism develop while old ones are retained (prices, normatives, indicators). The first form of economic accountability, whereby normatives for the distribution of enterprises' profits were arbitrarily set by ministries, has failed to prove its worth. Starting next year, not more than 40 percent of the output production plan in the USSR will be governed by state orders.

Many economists deem it expedient to extend some provisions of the Law on the Cooperative Movement to the activity of state enterprises, such as the principle of labor remuneration being totally dependent on the sales of commodity output produced. Or, why not allow enterprises themselves to decide on their specialized field, set up banks and insurance companies, issue shares and bonds, and decide on and pay for the unions and associations they need?

In order to successfully implement economic reform and overcome the cost-based mechanism of economic management, the system of incentives for economic development must be linked not with a system of economic indicators which distorts the real economic processes but with actual economic values. Not with a profits indicator but with truly earned money, according to F. Valente (CSSR). Moreover, prices should be determined not by cost of production but by the socialist market.

Economic transformations make certain social groups feel uncertain about the future and the maintenance of social guarantees (current wage levels, employment in the event of unprofitable enterprises being closed down, and so on), J. Pajestka (Poland) noted. Sociological studies in Poland have shown that two-thirds of workers support the reform but are against its consequences (differentiated incomes, competition), and only one-third support the innovative aspects of reform. Hence P. Ploszajski (Poland) drew the conclusion that unless part of the working class is convinced of the expediency of reform, the leadership will have to rely more on those strata of society which actively support the reform (the scientific, technical, and creative intelligentsia, the most skilled members of the working class and peasantry).

The experience of implementing economic reforms in CEMA countries has shown that it is possible to reverse them. In order to ensure that this does not happen now, there is a need for a sociopolitical mechanism guaranteeing the irreversibility of economic transformations, L. Abalkin suggested. The primary need is for guarantees ensuring that workers can increase their labor contribution and, on this basis, earn guaranteed additional income. There are not enough such guarantees now, in the opinion of K. Mikulskiy (USSR).

There is virtually no legal regulation of economic relations between the subjects of production. As a result of the separation of economic law from civil law, working people are virtually detached from the economic mechanism and this prevents the development of commodity-monetary relations, R. Khalfina (USSR) noted. Therefore, the main task is to elaborate a package of laws ensuring equality between participants in production and equivalence in exchanges between them.

Inflation... Under Socialism? [subhead]

One of the dogmas of economic theory is that inflationary processes—decline of the purchasing power of monetary units—are absent in conditions of the socialist mode of production, Yu. Yakovets (USSR) noted. Until recently our mental image of inflation was that it was the curse of capitalism. The presence of commodity-monetary relations determined by the effect of the law of value, regardless of the socioeconomic system, gives rise to inflationary processes, according to I. Kirtovskiy (USSR). Inflation ought to be examined as an element of the socialist economic mechanism. In order to smooth its negative consequences (price rises, imbalances in output production and income distribution, and so on), it is necessary to calculate the coefficient of real inflation. According to some official estimates (which appear to be deflated), the ruble's purchasing power has declined by almost 60 percent compared with 1961. Inflation is rising at 15-20 percent a year in Hungary, at approximately the same rate in Poland and China, and has reached 40 percent in Romania and 100 percent in Yugoslavia.

...The conference's results showed that the only path for the development of socialism is via the transition from administrative to democratic management of production with developed market relations and diverse forms of social ownership.

United States & Canada

Arms Expert Calls For Change in Military Order

LD2010190288 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Washington October 20 TASS—Jonathan Dean, a leading U.S. expert in arms and disarmament problems, former U.S. chief negotiator at the talks on mutual reduction in armed forces and armaments in Central Europe (1978-1981), holds that time has come exactly now to break the confrontational military order in Europe, which has been preserved for over 40 years now and got outdated.

Speaking at Washington's National Lawyers' Club, he stressed that important changes were taking place in the Soviet Union and the cold war policy was petering out in Europe. All this taken together represent a real opportunity to get the level of military confrontation between the East and the West scaled down.

Dean called for a far-sighted approach to the idea of lowering military confrontation. This process, he said, should cover all components of military systems, including the exchange of information, measures to create early notification zones, other stabilizing measures and also a reduction in armed forces and armaments to include aircraft and nuclear armaments, a structural change in defence, and the elaboration of stringent verification measures.

He recalled that the Warsaw Treaty Organisation proposed setting up a 150-kilometer wide nuclear-free corridor on both sides of the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organisation running through the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

Dean noted that NATO should not let the chances to push ahead the talks, that were made available in connection with the changes occurring in the USSR, slip away. At the same time he admitted that there were logjams on the way toward it. Many people in NATO cannot recover after a sudden turn from the 40 year-old stereotype of hostility in East-West relations, the turn that was manifest in the conclusion of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. The NATO leaders are seriously paralyzed by the apprehensions about the future of nuclear deterrence forces, he said.

Dole Remarks on U.S. Defense Bill Noted

LD2010174088 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—TASS commentator Gennadiy Gavrilenko writes:

The Senate's minority leader Robert Dole said on Wednesday that President Reagan's succesor should compel the United States' allies in Asia and Western Europe to contribute their share to the U.S. defense expenditures, the KYODO TSUSHIN news agency reports. The senator made recommendations to new U.S. administration and congress.

Reporting on Robert Dole's statement, KYODO TSUSHIN notes that according to the senator's aide, the Republicans' leader demanded that the allies share out a huge burden of the expenditures for maintaining the U.S. might upholding freedom. and though the senator did not name concrete countries, he, naturally, meant also Japan which is often named by U.S. congressmen among the countries whose contributions to defenses are not enough and who are "free riders".

Such an open call of the American senator for the build up of the military might of the United States' Asian and European allies cannot but cause concern at a time when there are new positive processes in the international situation: The beginning of the Afghan settlement, the ceasefire on the Iran-Iraq front, an overall improvement of the international situation.

A particular concern is caused by the speech of the U.S. senator in view of the fact that in Japan, which is a neighbour of the Soviet Union, there are influential forces that prefer armaments to disarmament. It is not accidental that Japan's Premier Noboru Takeshita, as the Japanese press reports, made recently a statement in which he declared that he will bring the country's defense potential in keeping with its economic might.

All this contradicts the striving of the world community to durable stable peace unburdenned by problems of the past.

In his speech in Krasnoyarsk, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that "arms reduction and corresponding changes in the military policy are a key to the improvement of the situation in the world...we are prepared to continue looking for new approaches to advance in this direction".

Robert Dole's latest statement shows that there are forces in the USA which, apparently, prefer confrontation to detente.

Dismantling of U.S. Cruise Missiles Begins

LD1910100188 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT 19 oct 88

[Text] Tucson, Arizone, October 19 TASS—TASS special correspondent Vladimir Matyash reports:

The destruction of American land-based cruise missiles (LBCM) began at the Davis Monthan air force base in Arizona on Tuesday.

The intermediate-range missiles which have a nuclear euivalent of up to 200 kilotons are being destroyed under the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty which was signed in Washington in December last year during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

Forty one LBCM's and seven launchers are to be destroyed at the Davis Monthan base. A group of Soviet military inspectors have been invited to watch the destruction of American LBCM's.

The first two LBCM's and one launcher were placed on a massive concrete ground at noon under the scorching sun of Arizona. Missile destruction is effected by a special unit of the U.S. Amy. High powered diamond and plasma cutters divided the missile body into two parts, separating the vanes and tail from the LBCM body. Then the missile head, without a nuclear explosive device and elements of the guidance system, were sawed. The launcher canister was cut into two, and an army truck tractor hauled the pile of metal away.

Thus, yet another specific step has been made towards the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons.

Bridadier General Roland Lajoie, director of the on-site inspection agency of the U.S. Department of Defense, has said in an interview with the TASS correspondent: "We have now witnessed a truly historic event. The destruction of the newest nuclear weapon systems of the two countries signifies a major landmark in American-Soviet relations. The United States and the Soviet Union are taking unprecedented steps of late for a transition from confrontation to peaceful cooperation. This reflects the growth of mutual trust between them. The destruction of the missiles is the result of the conclusion of the INF treaty. The implementation of the treaty provisions will lead to broader contacts and, I hope, greater trust between the United States and the Soviet Union".

"The INF treaty signed by the leaders of our two countries has entered a new phase of its practical implementation," said Vladimir Medvedev, the leader of the group of soviet military inspectors. "The document became a manifestation of the new political thinking and opened up a new sphere in our relationships—the sphere of on-site military inspections. This is a historic precedent. We are deeply convinced that it is better to exchange numerous inspection groups than nuclear strikes."

Reportage on U.S. Nuclear Plant Problems

Indian Point Plant Halted

LD2010172588 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 20 TASS—The authorities of the New York state had to stop on Thursday Indian Point-3 nuclear power station after a leakage of radioactive material from the station. In a report on this theme the NBC televicion network noted that another dangerous accident took place at a time when a movement of protest against gross violations of safety standards at U.S. military nuclear facilities is gaining momentum in the USA.

Ohio Governor Demands Plant Closure

LD2010222188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The governor of Ohio state has called on President Reagan to close a government-owned military nuclear complex in the small town of Fernald until steps are taken to stop a radiation leak into the atmosphere there. [passage omitted]

Savannah River Incidents Noted

PM2010150788 [Editorial Report] The following are recent USSR central press items referring to reported "serious incidents" at the Savannah River nuclear munitions plant in South Carolina:

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 October 1988 First Edition carries on page 1 under the headline " 'Secret Incidents'" a TASS report which reads:

"New York, 4 Oct—Serious incidents which were kept secret from the U.S. public have occurred at the military nuclear complex at Savannah River, South Carolina. This is reported by THE NEW YORK TIMES, citing a memorandum drawn up by one of the plant specialists in 1985 for his superiors. The document, which only came to light the other day as a result of U.S. congressional hearings, contains figures on 30 'extremely significant reactor defects' at Savannah River between 1957 and 1985.

"The most dangerous situation occurred at the nuclear installation in 1960 during an attempt to start up one of the reactors. The actions of the service personnel led to a chain reaction which got out of control for a time. As a result the reactor started building up power [narashchivat moshchnost] 10 times faster than envisaged by safety regulations. The document stresses that the danger was caused by 'numerous technical violations.'

"In 1965 more than 6 tonnes of radioactive water leaked from a reactor working at full power. Operators ignored an alarm signal and the leak was only discovered when someone noticed that the floor of the building was completely flooded with water. In December 1970 the operators tried to start up a reactor despite the fact that the cooling system was not ready. This almost resulted in an accident similar in scale to that at the Three Mile Island nuclear power station.

"Citing these and other figures, THE NEW YORK TIMES recalls that the Savannah River complex, where highly important nuclear warhead components are produced, has long been notorious in the country because of its numerous incidents."

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 October 1988 Second Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "Criminal Negligence" the following TASS report:

"New York, 5 Oct—The U.S. Department of Energy has officially admitted responsibility for covering up a number of serious incidents at the nuclear arms production enterprises at Savannah River, South Carolina, from the U.S. public.

"As a spokesman for the department admitted, his department had received information about these incidents—which caused radioactive contamination on more than one occasion—but kept it secret from the country's citizens. He cited 'deeply ingrained practice' as an excuse. From the very start of the implementation in 1942 of the top-secret U.S. 'Manhattan Project' to create the first atom bomb it has been believed that the publication of figures on any accident at a military nuclear complex would damage national security.

"The incidents came to light in a special memorandum containing information on 30 'extremely significant reactor defects' at the Savannah River military plant between 1957 and 1985. The document was drawn up for senior management by one of the complex' specialists more than 3 years ago, but was only made public the other day."

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 October 1988 First Edition carries on page 1 under the rubric "24 Hours Around the World" and the headline "United States" the following PRAVDA-TASS report:

"7 Oct—Another two incidents, resulting in a radioactive discharge into the atmosphere, have taken place at the nuclear arms production plant at Savannah River, South Carolina. Reporting this, CBS TV notes that the 'incidents were just the latest cases in a 30-year history of accidents,' about which the U.S. Department of Energy knew full well but preferred to keep silent."

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 October 1988 First Edition carries on page 1 under the rubric "Call from the Editorial Bureau" and the headline "Hello, Any News?" the following telephone dispatch by correspondent Viktor Linnik from New York:

[Linnik] "The U.S. mass media have pounced on a type of news item that, regrettably, is frighteningly regular in our high-tech age. I refer to a memorandum from F. Kristensen [name as transliterated], a nuclear engineer with Dupont de Nemours, which built the Savannah River nuclear power station in North [as published] Carolina. It follows from the memorandum that there was an emergency at the station in 1965 during which a reactor explosion was only averted through a stroke of good luck.

"It started with a water leak in the reactor cooling system. This was caused by negligence on the part of the technician monitoring the cooling system, who accidentally pulled a hose out of one of the pipes. It was decided to shut off the leak in the simplest and most slipshod fashion—they closed the rotary gate valves [rotornyye zadvizhki] regulating the flow of cooled [okhlazhdennyy] water. A control instrument registered a fall in the water level, but the people in the control room put it down to an instrument fault. It is known that rapidly evaporating water can lead to reactor overheat and, ultimately, to an explosion. Just such an explosion happened at an experimental U.S. Defense Department reactor in Idaho in the fifties.

"Only at the last moment did F. Kristensen himself order the rotary gate valve opened, thus averting a terrible accident.

" 'How would you rate the actual threat to the station on a scale of 1 to 10?' one of the specialists familiar with the memorandum was asked.

" 'Between 9 and 10,' was the reply.

"[PRAVDA] When did the memorandum come to light?

"[Linnik] The memorandum was made public during hearings currently under way in Congress. It transpired at these hearings that this emergency situation at the Savannah River station—which comes under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Energy—was only the fifth most dangerous of 29 similar 'abnormal situations' that have occurred during this period. But the highest authorities were not informed of the near-accident at the time.

"The three reactors currently operational at the Savannah River station produce plutonium and tritium for nuclear warheads. Although admittedly, physics experiments were allegedly under way at the station at the time when the situation described in the memorandum arose.

"It is no surprise that such episodes are whipping up still more strongly the already heated feelings in America about the development of nuclear power, strengthening the arguments of those who are opposed in every possible way to the development of a system of nuclear power stations."

ROK President Arrives in U.S. for Official Visit

LD2010162588 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Washington October 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

President of South Korea No Tae-u arrived for an official working visit in Washington today. This is No Tae-u's first official visit to the United States as president of South Korea.

No Tae-u is to have negotiations with U.S. President Ronald Reagan at the White House today. A high-placed representative of the administration stated before the meeting that discussed would be a broad range of topics, including prospects of improvement of relations with the north, the recent expansion of contacts of the Republic of Korea with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, various questions of bilateral relations, also in the sphere of trade.

The visit is taking place against the background of American press reports that the Reagan administration in close consultations with Seoul is now considering the question of levelling the relations with the DPRK. Newspapers reported that what is at issue is primarily establishment of limited diplomatic relations, the lifting of a number of visa restrictions, expansion of official contacts and modification of the trade embargo vis-a-vis North Korea.

China

Li Xiannian Comments on USSR Ties

LD2010115488 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Beijing October 20 TASS—China and the Soviet Union are two major neighboring countries and estrangement in their relations is not in tune with the times, Li Xiannian, chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, has said.

He was speaking in a meeting with the chairman of the Japanese-Chinese Friendship Center, Yoshimi furui.

Li pointed to the Kampuchea issue as an obstacle to normalizing Chinese-Soviet relations.

Noting that the Chinese foreign minister will visit the Soviet Union this year, he said that if the meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries then produces positive results, then a Soviet-Chinese summit will be possible next year.

No 'Objective Obstacle' to Relations with PRC

OW2010151888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Listeners: Various contacts between the Soviet Union and China continued in early October. For instance, a Chinese architectural workers delegation visited the Soviet Union for the first time after 20 years of discontinued contacts; a Chinese agricultural delegation also visited Moscow; and a delegation from the USSR Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society visited China. Our station commentator Nikolayev has the following comments on these contacts:

Several hundred delegations from both countries exchanged visits in the past year. This is a large figure. A few years ago, visits to the Soviet Union by Chinese delegations and visits to China by Soviet citizens were regarded as extraordinary events, and now they are common events. I am very glad that the relations between the Soviet Union and China have become friendlier, and the mutual trust between them has grown greater. To enhance friendship and promote cooperation with all socialist countries, including China, is of high priority in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. The Soviet Union has always pursued a policy of friendship and good neighborliness toward China, and this was true even during the period when relations between the two countries were the most complicated. The Soviet Union does not think that there is any objective obstacle to the development of Soviet-Chinese relations at present. Certain differences over some issues are a normal phenomenon in international relations.

Facts prove that the two countries can gradually reduce their differences when both have the goodwill. An important thing is the wish of the two sides to find a halfway point. The discussion on mediating the situation around Cambodia is a good example. Of course, the issue is very complex. However, the Soviet Union and China have greatly enhanced their mutual understanding in the course of dialogue. In my opinion, the forthcoming meeting between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and China will surely take a new and important step in formulating plans—plans trusted by the peoples of the Soviet Union and China—for settling some international issues that are already ripe for settlement. The Soviet Union has repeatedly and emphatically pointed out its proposition to hold political dialogues in any forms with China on issues of common interest. We are willing to begin the preparations right away for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. While the foreign ministers of the two countries will exchange visits to each other's countries soon, I may say that such preparations have already begun.

Soviet Aircraft Exhibit Opens in PRC

LD2010030388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] The first Soviet exhibition of aircraft equipment has opened in the Chinese capital. At the opening ceremony, Liu Shaoshan, deputy chairman of the China Council for the promotion of international trade, expressed confidence that the exhibition will successsfuly carry out the tasks entrustd to it of establishing Soviet-Chinese cooperation in the sphere of space and aviation.

Theatrical Workers Visit USSR

OW2010063488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] The issue of theatrical reform was the main topic of discussion between Zakharov, Soviet deputy minister of culture [name and title as heard], and members of the Chinese delegation of theatrical workers during their meeting on 17 October.

The meeting marked the end of the Chinese delegation's visit to the USSR.

During their stay in the USSR, the Chinese visitors familiarized themselves with the operation of the theatrical organs in Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, and Novosibirsk.

The Chinese visitors were satisfied with the visit, which enabled them to understand what helps the Soviet Union in organizing its theatrical services.

The Chinese theatrical workers were particularly interested in Soviet theatrical collectives' independence and economic accounting system.

Northeast Asia

MPRP Leader Meets With Lukyanov at End of Visit

PM2010152988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] On 18 October A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met with J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the MPR People's Great Hural Presidium, who is taking a short vacation in the Soviet Union.

During the conversation there was a comradely exchange of views on some topical questions connected with the functioning and development of social and political structures in conditions of comprehensive socialist renewal. J. Batmonh stressed that the MPRP attaches fundamental significance to expanding socialist democracy as an indispensable condition of the all-round activation of the human factor and acceleration of MPR socioeconomic progress.

A.I. Lukyanov told J. Batmonh about the work that is under way to implement the guidelines of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums on radically restructuring the system of soviet bodies and on legal reform, intended to intensify the mechanisms for ensuring socialist law and order on the basis of the development of democracy.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the successful collaboration between the USSR and MPR along parliamentary lines and noted the importance of further deepening business ties and exchanging experience in the sphere of state building.

Mongolian Ambassador to the USSR Ts. Gurbadam was present at the conversation.

On the same day J. Batmonh left for home.

He was seen off at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Mongolian Ambassador to the USSR Ts. Gurbadam was also there to see him off.

Lukyanov Receives Japanese Friendship Official

LD1910122388 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—The Soviet Union highly assesses the peoples' effort to strengthening the spirit of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. Meetings between Soviet and Japanese public representatives constitute an important channel for improved relations between the two countries.

This idea was expressed during a meeting in the Kremlin today between Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Yoshio Sakurauchi, chairman of the Parliamentary Association of Japanese-Soviet Friendship.

The discussion was attended by members of the Japanese delegation to the 6th round-table conference of Soviet and Japanese public representatives, currently under way in Moscow.

The guests were informed about progress in implementing the course towards restructuring and renewing Soviet society, new political thinking and peaceful foreign policy initiatives of the USSR.

In exchanging views on issues of Soviet-Japanese cooperation, the sides pointed to the positive role of public organisations in deepening mutual understanding between the peoples ad facilitating the solution of burning global and regional problems and issues of bilateral relations.

They stressed the usefulness of the current Soviet- Japanese round-table discussion.

The present-day state of Soviet-Japanese relations did not as yet fully correspond to the interests of the peoples in the two countries, considering the emerging changes for the better in the international climate and potentialities of the USSR and Japan.

The Soviet side reaffirmed in this connection its readiness, given reciprocity, to try and bring Soviet- Japanese relations onto the path of dynamic and stable development on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and without any pre-conditions.

The participants in the conversation displayed their striving towards the consistent development of political dialogue and bilateral relations between the USSR and Japan which, both being pacific ocean nations, are called upon to make a weighty contribution to strengthening security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Commentary Views Soviet-Japanese Roundtable Talks

OW1710130988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] The sixth Soviet-Japanese roundtable talks will begin on 17 October. In this connection, station commentator (Yurskiy) makes the following comment:

The roundtable talks held in the past have been important factors affecting the overall situation in Soviet-Japanese relations. The talks, which have been alternately held in Moscow and Tokyo, have steadily widened the potential for dialogue between Soviet and Japanese representatives of various social strata on such issues as war, peace, economic cooperation, and cultural exchanges. The talks have played a role in switching Soviet-Japanese relations from confrontation to dialogue. At first, official sources in Tokyo disregarded the talks and often pressured participants. However, they began paying attention to the talks as the authority and role of the talks in Soviet-Japanese relations increased.

Sponsoring the talks from the Soviet side are traditionally the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the USSR-Japan Society; from the Japanese side, five social organizations designed to promote Soviet-Japanese friendship and an association representing almost all Japanese political parties. These six organizations include dietmen, trade union activists, and people involved in science and art. In addition, representatives from Soviet ministries, agencies, and organizations which have working relationships with Japan also attend the talks.

Participants in the talks have persistently studied practical ways to put Soviet-Japanese relations on track and expressed the need for active dialogue between the two countries. This has become one of the important characteristcs of the talks. The treaty on cultural exchanges signed by the two countries in 1986 is a practical example of what can be accomplished through these efforts. The participants in the talks have also made great efforts to advance the ideal of detente and disarmament and to secure peace and stability in Asia and the Pacific region. Soviet Premier Ryzhkov's and then Prime Minister Nakasone's greetings sent to a Soviet-Japanese roundtable meeting, on the eve of its convocation in Tokyo 2 years ago, verified the authority of the talks.

The upcoming roundtable talks will be held in Moscow 17-19 October. The major topic at the talks will be how to deepen good neighborliness and mutual understanding between the Soviet and Japanese peoples under a new way of political thinking. A Japanese delegation made up of more than 100 people, including LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] Dietman and former Foreign Minister Sakurauchi, has arrived in Moscow. The Soviet delegation will be led by Maritime Fleet Minister Volmer who is concurrently chairman of the USSR-Japan Society. Many other parliamentarians, famous political scholars, businessmen, journalists, and intellectuals will also attend the talks. New Soviet initiatives announced by General Secretary Gorbachev in his speech in Krasnoyarsk will provide broad potential for the discussions of issues related to Soviet-Japanese relations at the upcoming talks. General Secretary Gorbachev expressed his high hopes for the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations in the future. The general secretary pointed out that by having a series of meetings with Japan's political and social representatives the Soviet Union could further clarify pending issues and open up a way to overcome deadlock. The Soviet Union highly rates the restoration of its relations with the Japanese Association of Prefectural Governors. It also appreciates Japanese businessmen's growing interest in Japans' return to its past position as a major Soviet trade and economic partner. The general secretary noted that some issues remain unresolved in the fields of [word indistinct] and fisheries and that they obstruct further promotion of trust between the two countries. However, he added that these issues are surmountable. Perhaps the Soviet Union's Krasnoyarsk initiatives will become a central subject of discussion at the upcoming sixth Soviet-Japanese roundtable talks. The Soviet social organizations pin high hopes for new and practical achievements at the talks.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Comment, Reportage on U.S.-Philippine Bases Accord

Pogodin Commentary

LD1810143688 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] After 6 months of hard talks, an agreement has been signed on the status of the United States military bases in the Philippines. Under it the United States will pay the Philippines about $1.5 billion, including additional financing in the framework of military and economic aid, in the course of 2 years for the right to use the Subic Bay and Clark field bases, the biggest in Asia. Here is what Radio Moscow commentator Aleksandr Pogodin writes.

The agreement is actually a compromise. The Filipinos have succeeded in sharply increasing the lease payments but still it is considerably smaller than what they had insisted upon at the beginning. As for the Americans, they were able to obtain an agreement for only until September 1991, when the term of the current accord expires. So far, Washington has been unsuccessful in securing the right to use the bases after 1991. There was also a compromise as far as the question of nuclear weapons is concerned. The full sovereignty of the Philippines has been recognized as regards keeping and deploying the weapons on its territory. On the other hand, the American warships and planes do not have to notify the Government of the Philippines whether they have nuclear weapons on board when crossing through the country's territorial waters or airspace.

Judging by first reports from Manila the agreement was met, putting it mildly, without any enthusiasm by the political circles in the country. The Senate Committee for National Defense and Security even submitted a draft resolution calling on the government to notify the United States as soon as possible about its refusal to extend the present agreement after 1991. The REUTERS agency says that it would be very difficult to renew the agreement because most of the Filipinos are against American military presence in their country.

On the other hand, the reaction of Washington, including President Ronald Reagan, was jubilant. Apparently they believe that in the coming 2 years they will be able to make the Philippines renew the agreement on the bases and that practically perpetuates American military presence in the country. The United States continues its base strategy in Asia and the Pacific aimed at increasing tension and the risk of war. Unfortunately, the ruling circles in the United States fail to respond with understanding to the Soviet initiatives, which provide for gradually reducing the military activity in the region and that includes cutting down the number of military bases.

The Soviet Union is ready, on a reciprocal basis, to take corresponding measures as regards its forces in Asia and the Pacific but Washington apparently is not yet prepared to reconsider its clearly outdated military and political stereotypes, the base strategy being one of them.

Opposition in Philippines Noted

LD1910101288 Moscow TASS in English 0912 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Manila October 19 TASS—President Corazon Aquino of the Philippines today rejected all criticism of the new American-Philippine agreement signed in Washington on Monday on the status of U.S. military bases on the country's territory. She emphasized that the agreement was a big step on the way to broadening relations with Washington.

The agreement which had been signed by U.S. Secretary of States George Shultz and Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus gave rise to a negative reaction on the part of parliamentarians, opposition political forces, and the press, first of all because Manila, in their view, had agreed to a too small compensation for the use of the six American military bases on Philippine soil. The agreement was described as a sell-out one. A number of senators referred to the signing of the document as an act of high treason altogether.

The newly signed agreement enables the United States to use six facilities in the Philippines until 1991. In exchange for that Washington shall pay a total of 962 million dollars to Manila. During the difficult six-months- long Philippine-U.S. talks which had been repeatedly on the verge of frustration, Philippine representatives had sought the payment of 1,200 million dollars by the U.S. Administration.

Corazon Aquino emphasized that she had known that the agreement would not get full support and approval. She said she was convinced that minister of foreign affairs Raul Manglapus had done quite a fruitful job, and that the newly- signed agreement on the bases considerably differed for the better from all the previous ones.

Alvin Capino, news analyst of the DAILY GLOBE newspaper, writes today in comment on the new Philippine-U.S. agreement that the Philippines apparently made a bad bargain. The analyst predicts in this connection an outburst of anti- American actions in the country.

Under the constitution, any extension of the bases agreement upon its expiry in September 1991 shall be endorsed by a two thirds majority of senators. Many of parliamentarians oppose the presence of U.S. military bases on the country's territory.

There were heated discussions in the Senate on Tuesday on the question of whether the new agreement between the Philippines and the United States was lawful under the constitution provisions on the conclusion of international treaties, and whether it required a parliamentary approval in view of that. However, the problem proved so difficult that the discussion had to be postponed.

President Aquino, in an interview with journalists on Wednesday, said she would hold the necessary consultations on this question with her advisers who, she said, had already stated that there was no need for such approval.

At present the United States has two big military bases on Philippine territory, the Clark Field air base and the Subic Bay naval one, and another four small military facilities.

Cambodia Settlement Prospects Examined

PM1710144788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent B. Chekhonin article written especially for IZVESTIYA: "Light at the End of the Tunnel. How Do the ASEAN Countries Perceive the Prospects for Solving the Cambodian Problem"]

[Text] The paved freeway from Bangkok takes a last curve in the mountain, crosses a bridge over the river down in the valley, and abruptly comes to an end, just about giving the driver a chance to notice the sign: Slow down, dead end; we are in Ruby Country—this is how people have named Chanthaburi Province, where precious stones are extracted.

"We can't drive any further, just park here," my companion said, "that's the border zone ahead, you can be shot at."

As a matter of fact, this warning was superfluous, if for no other reason but the fact that the country road had been churned up by tank tracks and the wheels of heavy trucks and armored vehicles. An exhausted land yearning for peace. A war has been fought here for 9 long years. Ambulances take the wounded and dead to refugee camps in the border zone, to Chanthaburi, Bangkok, and other cities. The Cambodian armed conflict is reaping its fruit.

Back in 1979, when the nation's healthy forces with help from Vietnam averted the threat of a whole nation's total extermination, it seemed that Cambodia would no longer have mass graves, orphans, and widows. But that was not to be. A high level Thai-Chinese meeting was held at U Taphao Air Force Base 14 January. Its participants agreed to use Thailand's territory for the transshipment of weapons and other types of aid to Pol Pot's exiled men. That was the start of the war's continuation.

Here, in the border zone, you clearly realize how much sorrow has been brought by this war to the tens of thousands of Cambodians who have ended up in refugee camps in various ways, as well as to the Thais themselves. The poverty-stricken villages in the district are not at all like those to be seen in other agricultural regions.

Will peace dawn on this tortured land, and if so, when? Soon, according to Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian prince in voluntary exile. Light can now be seen at the end of the 9-year tunnel, he declared recently in Bangkok, during a stopover en route to New York for the UN General Assembly session. The leader of the Khmer coalition, on whom many people in ASEAN countries rely for a political settlement of the Cambodian conflict, had quite a few reasons for an optimistic forecast. He had held meetings with government leaders from Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand.

Sihanouk informed journalists at his Bangkok press conference of the intention to discuss his proposals with leaders of several Western states in the New York forum's lobbies and, later on in November, during a new meeting with Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, in Paris.

A few days ago Sihanouk had a meeting with U.S. President Reagan.

And so, there has been a turnabout in the direction of ending the Cambodian conflict. It was conditioned primarily by the constructive approach of the PRK Government, which put forward and is consistently implementing a plan for national reconciliation, and by the flexibility of the SRV stance displayed at the Jakarta meeting of the four Cambodian sides and even earlier, when Vietnam's leaders declared their intention to withdraw 50,000 soldiers and officers from Cambodia by the end of this year. A new approach also emerged recently, as well as a desire for political compromise among the participants in the Soviet-Chinese meeting on the Cambodian question held at deputy foreign minister level in Beijing.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is prepared to contribute to the speediest achievement of agreements on Cambodia. An important role in the solution of this problem, and generally for improving the situation in Asia, could be played by direct talks between China and Vietnam.

...While in Chanthaburi, businessmen from Southeast Asian countries attending an international jewelry exhibition told me that a Cambodian settlement is long overdue. They have traveled more than 200 km from Bangkok to buy on the spot the "precious raw material" they need.

Early in September I had an opportunity to hear more or less the same words said by Chatchai Chunhawan, head of Thailand's new cabinet, at his first press conference in Bangkok. "Politics are politics, and trade is trade. Let us not mix them up from now on. Let us transform this region from a battlefield into a zone of mutually advantageous trade." Indeed, certain promising positive changes toward neighboring countries have started emerging under the new premier.

True enough, ASEAN countries differ to a certain extent in their views on the Cambodian problem. Nurdin Sopi [name as transliterated], general director of the Malaysian Institute for Strategic and International Studies, recently wrote in one of the local newspapers that the Jakarta meeting revealed a growing polarization in ASEAN countries' assessments of the political situation in the region. For example, and in contrast with Thailand, he pointed out, Indonesia ceased a long time ago looking at Vietnam as a potential threat to the region. This threat, in Jakarta's opinion, originates somewhere completely different—with those who support the "Khmers Rouges." Political observer Kavi Chongkittavorn [name as transliterated] was even more definite when he wrote in the newspaper NATION: "Jakarta's worry is linked to China." Many specialists on the region sharing this viewpoint call on official Bangkok, which claims the role of ASEAN's leading light, to ponder not so much the schedule for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia as the consequences of this withdrawal. Will there not be a new civil war between the groupings? After all, the mechanism for monitoring the free expression of the people's will is still to be created. And this is not a matter for the immediate future. On the other hand, the "Khmer Rouge" grouping has a perfectly organized military machine—40,000 armed men, known and unknown weapons stores, and a ramified political organization.

Sukumpan Paripatra [name as transliterated], a well known political scientist from Chulalongkorn [name as transliterated] University, wrote in this context before joining the new Thai premier's "think tank": "While the 'Khmers Rouges' are allowed to retain a key position in the coalition and the present level of military aid is maintained, a stable and long-term political settlement of the Cambodian problem is simply impossible." The Cambodian question can be resolved in the way ASEAN countries assume only on the basis of a compromise which suits everybody; the Thai professor was seconded by the aforementioned Malaysian scientist Nurdin Sopi. Following a settlement of the conflict, he believes, Cambodia will maintain normal relations with Thailand and China. On the other hand, it will also take into account Vietnam's interests and position on a number of key political questions.

And so, an appeal for compromise, for a realistic policy, for new political thinking. Will it meet with a constructive response from Thailand's new government? In Chanthaburi you realize that many changes are still to come. Every so often in the city you have to give way to military vehicles carrying military freight. Thailand's territory is, like before, used for monthly deliveries of 300-500 tonnes of military supplies to the "Khmers Rouges." And the main point is that there is still a total absence of original political approaches in the spirit of the times. In Bangkok you can also hear appeals not to be too quick to criticize the "Khmers Rouges." Looking at the devastated Thai land in Chanthaburi Province, you automatically think to yourself: If only peace were to come quickly to the Thai-Cambodian border. This is in the interests of the two neighboring peoples and the general improvement of the political climate in the Asian and Pacific region. It is important not to miss the chance when, in the words of Hun Sen, head of the PRK Government, "the most difficult times are over."

Jakarta Talks on Cambodia Face 'Difficulties'

LD2010091288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1718 GMT 19 Oct 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by (name indistinct) Malikov, with commentary by Stanislav Blazhenkov]

[Text] A meeting devoted to the settlement of the Cambodian problem has been underway in Jakarta for the last 3 days. It graphically illustrates how difficult it is to resolve a regional problem. Commentator Stanislav Blazhenkov, my colleague, will speak about the kind of difficulties encountered by the participants of this meeting, and about the quest carried out for finding a way out of the situation of insufficient understanding.

[Blazhenkov] In keeping with the decisions of the informal meeting on the settlement to the situation around Cambodia which took place in Bogor at the end of July, the working group was instructed to continue the discussion of specific aspects of the settlement to the Cambodian problem and to present its recommendations on holding the next meeting.

The absence of the Khmer Rouge delegation at the working meeting was assessed by the observers in Jakarta as a refusal of the Pol Pot leadership to participate in a political settlement to the Cambodian problem. Addressing newsmen, Indonesian foreign Minister Ali Alatas emphasized that the absence of Khmer Rouge must not serve as an obstacle to the work of the working group. He expressed a hope that the dialogue, commenced in Bogor, will continue. According to the news agency reports, the participants of the working meeting conducted frank discussions on the questions being discussed. On the eve of the meeting some of them expressed doubts about Vietnam's observance of the schedule for the withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia. However, a day before the start of the meeting, a joint communique of the ministries of defense of the Socialist republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea was circulated in Hanoi. It says that the withdrawal of the remaining detachments—the remaining number from the 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers whose withdrawal commenced in June this year—will be carried out monthly, starting mid-October, until the end of 1988, and the last contingent will be withdrawan during December this year. The withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Cambodia should be implemented according to the carefully drafted schedule, Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, noted in a letter addressed to the UN secretary general. This withdrawal must be accompanied by the granting of a guarantee by the interested sides that the Pol Pot criminals guilty of genocide will not be rendered assistance, and that they will never again be allowed to come to power in Cambodia.

I would like to add that at the 43d UN General Assembly session in New York, the representatives of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea continue to participate in its work. The delegations of the socialist states came forward with a joint declaration noting that this is illegal, that it represents an insult to the memory of the millions of the victims of the Pol Pot clique genocide, and that it creates an obstacle on the path of the comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian problem.

Dialogue will be continued at the third meeting between Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk at the beginning of November, in Paris, and at the regular session of the working group, planned for January next year. The political dialogue between the Cambodian sides and the implementation of the process of national reconciliation is a realistic way for solving yet another difficult regional problem, and for establishing the relations of peace, goodneighborliness and cooperation in southeast Asia.

Khmer Rouge Absence at Talks Noted

BK2110013688 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Station Correspondent (Viktor Klenov) dispatch from Jakarta]

[Text] An international meeting on Cambodia has just wound up in Jakarta. Attending this parley were the six ASEAN countries: Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, and Brunei. Also present were the delegations of Vietnam and Laos and representatives of the three Cambodian parties, as indicated by the official name of their talks, for the fourth party—that of the Khmer Rouge—had refused to take part in this encounter.

Our correspondent in Southeast Asia, Comrade (Viktor Klenov) reports:

The Jakarta talks were the direct continuation of last July's informal meeting in Bogor, bringing together all parties involved in the Cambodian problem. According to the opinion of observers, this meeting took place in a most favorable atmosphere created first of all by the on-going withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and the recent Sino-Soviet meeting in Beijing—a meeting which had definitely expanded the scope of mutual understanding around the Cambodian problem.

The main aspect of the Cambodian problem, according to the observers, rests in how to prevent Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime from returning to power. It is no coincidence that the Khmer Rouge absence at the Jakarta talks did not cause any disappointment to the other parties present.

As stated by an observer, the Khmer Rouge's stubbornness in staying away from the meeting certainly did not improve their image in the eyes of the world community. Furthermore, according to the opinion of observers in Jakarta, without the participation of Pol Pot's representatives it would be much easier for the other parties concerned to talk about and agree on a number of issues.

Our correspondent goes on: The Jakarta talks proceeded in camera. For this reason, it is still not possible to give much detail about it. The little we know is that this parley managed to come up with some recommendation for the second informal meeting to be held in Jakarta in December this year or next January, and the participants discussed, among other things, the question of forming a future Cambodian coalition government, the timetable for the Vietnamese troop pullout from Cambodia, and some other issues.

It looks like another step has just been made on the road toward a solution to the Cambodian problem.

Reportage on Makeyev Visit to SRV TU Congress

Addresses Vietnamese TU

PM2010073988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Oct 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Kalashnikov dispatch: "Sixth Vietnamese Trade Union Congress: In a Businesslike and Frank Manner"]

[Excerpts] Hanoi, 17 Oct—Opening the congress, Vietnamese Trade Union Federation Chairman Pham The Duet urged the 840 delegates "to face up to the truth," to speak nothing but the truth, and to evalute realistically the state of the trade union movement in the country and its prospects. [passage omitted]

Representatives of the WFTU and the trade unions of the USSR, Laos, and Cambodia (32 foreign trade union delegations altogether are attending the congress) delivered greetings on the first day of the congress' work.

"We value and appreciate the businesslike atmosphere of your congress and delegates' deep commitment to enhancing the role and effectiveness of trade unions' work," V.N. Makeyev, AUCCTU secretary and head of the Soviet trade union delegation, said. "The principled criticism, self-criticism, and exactingness expressed in this hall resemble in many respects the spirit of restructuring of Soviet trade union activity."

The solution by the peoples of our countries of important creative tasks is inextricably linked with the general struggle to maintain world peace and remove the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe from mankind, the AUCCTU secretary went on to say.

The Soviet Union has consistently struggled to ensure that Asia should never be a source of tension or arena of military confrontation. When speaking recently in Krasnoyarsk M.S. Gorbachev formulated a new comprehensive program of peace initiatives with the aim of further advancing the cause of pan-Asian security.

The extensive and fruitful ties that exist between our countries are successfully developing in all directions. International socialist competition on joint construction projects of great political and economic importance is being carried out in Vietnam with active trade union participation. This patriotic movement demonstrates the unity of our actions and deeds and our selfless interest in the each other's success, V.N. Makeyev said in conclusion.

The congress continues its work tomorrow.

Speaks at Hanoi Rally

PM2110092388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Oct 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Kalashnikov report: "Sharp Discussions. At the Sixth Vietnamese Trade Union Congress"]

[Excerpt] Hanoi, 19 Oct—[passage omitted] The Soviet trade union delegation visited the Hanoi Transformer Plant. A friendship rally was held.

"Fruitful Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation is covering more and more areas," V.N. Makeyev, delegation head and secretary of the AUCCTU, said in his speech at the rally. "Guided by the principles of internationalism, the Soviet Union is helping the SRV to develop leading economic sectors. Hundreds of national economic projects have been built in Vietnam with Soviet assistance over the last few years. Our countries are reliably linked by space telecommunications. Soviet VUZ's and technical colleges have trained almost 70,000 Vietnamese specialists. Tens of thousands of workers from the SRV are now mastering at Soviet enterprises the specialities their country needs most. We note with profound satisfaction the fruitful collaboration between our countries' trade unions."

The AUCCTU secretary told those present about the progress in restructuring the activities of Soviet trade unions and about the new Soviet peace initiatives relating to the Asia-Pacific region.

SRV Editor Interviewed on Cambodian Policy

WA18120003a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 38, 25 Sep-2 Oct 88 p 5

[Major-General Tran Cong Man, Editor-in-Chief of the Hanoi newspaper QUAN DOI NHAN DAN (PEOPLE'S ARMY) recent interview with Yevgeny Leng, a MOSCOW NEWS correspondent in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam]

[Text] MN: Vietnam intends to withdraw half its troops from Kampuchea by the end of the year. Today do you consider their going into Kampuchea to have been a political error?

Tran Cong Man: No, it was not an error. The regime in Kampuchea started a real border war with the SRV. Besides that we had to help a fraternal people with whom we are connected by many years of joint struggle against the colonialists and aggressors and to stop the genocide and the atrocities by the clique of murderers.

We didn't expect our troops to stay in Kampuchea as long as they have. But that's how it turned out. We couldn't permit Pol Pot's men to get back in power. If this threat hadn't existed we'd have removed our troops much earlier.

MN: Hanoi's decision to render military assistance to the Kampuchean people provoked an international controversy. A minority considered that SRV troops should go into Kampuchea, while a majority condemned this action and this was reflected in relevant UN resolutions. Did Hanoi expect this reaction?

Tran Cong Man: This reaction was unexpected. There were special reasons for it. Vietnamese troops had been in Kampuchea and in Laos fora quite a long time—at the period of joint hostilities on resisting the threat to independence of the three countries of Indo-China, first by France and then by the United States. The Western press focused on the atrocities of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime: "There should be no room on Earth in the second half of the 20th century" for such evils, the Kampuchea of Pol Pot's times was "a giant concentration camp." But as soon as the clique lost power, the tone of Western press reports changed dramatically. The impression was that a capable propaganda conductor stood behind all that.

MN: Attempts were made in the West even before that to damage the SRV prestige which increased considerably after the victory in the struggle against the U.S. aggression. Events in Kampuchea played up the "game in lowering" the SRV authority. Of course, few in the West sympathized with Pol Pot's regime. But the overthrow of this regime and help by the "Vietnamese volunteers" were used to curtail the West's cooperation with Vietnam and for discrediting the SRV in the eyes of the international community. Are all the Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea really volunteers?

Tran Cong Man: We wanted each of our soldiers to perform his internationalist duty in Kampuchea, realizing his high responsibility. But there was no "putting one down according to one's own intention" for the contingent troops. Even though there were quite enough volunteers, especially officers.

MN: At present Vietnam is conducting wide-ranging reforms. Glasnost is winning more and more ground. Such is the course of the 6th CPV Congress. Don't you think it's time to create a constitutional mechanism for making decisions on the use of military force abroad?

Tran Cong Man: We think now, as we always have, that it is necessary to help revolutionary forces and nations fighting for their liberation. But we oppose the export of revolution. For historical reasons, Vietnamese soldiers fought only in Laos and Kampuchea. We never threatened anyone, nor are we threatening anyone now. We were always just defending ourselves, even from those who today are protesting against our troops in Kampuchea. Vietnam is a small country, I think that constitutional mechanism you mentioned is not of fundamental importance for us. Kampuchea was an exceptional case.

MN: Recently the newspaper TUOITRE (YOUTH) published in Ho Chi Minh City reported that some young people now are trying to avoid the draft because they are afraid they might be sent to Kampuchea. What do you think about that?

Tran Cong Man: The majority of our young people are loyal to their duty. There are exceptions. Mainly in the south of Vietnam. It was once considered honourable to escape being drafted into the army of the puppet regime. Times have changed, the people 's power won in the south, but some people, maybe, didn't understand or didn't accept the changes. I repeat, only a tiny percentage of the draftees try to avoid service.

MN: The SRV armed forces have been in Kampuchea for 9-odd years. Has Vietnamese public opinion changed vis-a-vis this problem?

Tran Cong Man: At first public opinion was concerned how best to fulfill the internationalist duty to this fraternal people. Now the accent has shifted somewhat. People are voicing a desire for peace in Kampuchea and for the return home of the Vietnamese soldiers. But a desire is a desire and reality is reality. And the Vietnamese understand that very well.

The governments of both countries are increasing efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea. A number of important decisions have been made—on the withdrawal of half the Vietnamese troops by the end of this year, and of the subordination of our remaining units to Kampuchean command. As soon as this was announced, the Western press became alarmed. "How come?" many papers asked. "The Pol Potians may again return to power. They are already more active in areas the Vietnamese have left." I believe that the alarm is quite sincere. And it shows once again that the Pol Potians were pawns in the big political game of stepping up tensions in South-East Asia. The broad understanding that the presence of the Vietnamese contingent was a forced measure existed before, too. Pnompenh and Hanoi are full of resolutions to fulfill the promise—to bring all the Vietnamese troops home by 1990.

Near East & South Asia

2 Afghan Rebels Sentenced to Death; 2 Imprisoned

LD2010141388 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 20 TASS—Two members of the anti-government "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" today were sentenced to death and two others to long prison terms for having staged a bloody act of terrorism in Kabul last month.

They were convicted by a special national security court at a public one-day trial.

On September 11, the convicts exploded a car bomb parked outside the Afghan state trading company Afghan Cart, killing 14 and injuring more than 30 other Kabul residents and causing enormous damage to government and private property.

Aided by eyewitness accounts, Afghan security services identified the criminals and apprehended them.

It was established during the subsequent investigation that the terrorist operation had been masterminded in Pakistan where one of the criminals had twice undergone training at rebel training camps. His accomplices had been involved in subversive activity in Loghar province.

The terrorists had been promised a large sum of money for committing the atrocious crime.

Program Coordinator on UN Afghan Aid Project

PM1910092788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Veniamin Shurygin "Viewpoint": "Concrete Actions Are Needed"]

[Text] An international conference has been held at UN Headquarters on subscriptions to UN humanitarian and economic aid programs to Afghanistan. Speaking at a press conference, Sadruddin Aga Khan, coordinator of these programs, welcomed the Soviet Union's decision to also take part in the UN programs in addition to the bilateral programs it is already implementing. At the same time the coordinator announced that the United States had informed him that it could not make any concrete promises because the country is in the throes of an election and the Congress has not yet allocated the budget. U.S. press articles indicate that Washington also has other reasons. The United States wants to "wait a while" with this aid in the hope that the Afghan "irreconcilable" opposition will in the near future win the "decisive military victories" foretold in the West.

Let me recall that it is proposed to implement the UN aid programs in two stages. It is proposed to spend approximately $1 billion during the first 18-month stage. The second stage is calculated for a 3-year period and, according to preliminary estimates, will necessitate expenditure totaling $840 million. It was announced that the representatives of Finland, France, Italy, Austria, Denmark, Canada, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, and also the USSR, the CSSR, and the GDR have already stated their intention to take part in the UN programs. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Williamson also expressed his country's readiness to contribute to the fulfillment of the programs.

It is difficult to overestimate the topicality of the UN initiative to offer international economic and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan. Few members of the world community have such an acute need for this aid today. How can the material damage incurred be determined?

The damage consists of destroyed apartment blocks and industrial enterprises, wrecked irrigation systems, downed power lines, neglected fields, and deserted villages. Millions of refugees, families who have lost their breadwinners, and orphaned children are urgently in need of help.

The United Nations made a great, constructive contribution to the Geneva agreements on a political settlement in Afghanistan. Provided that all parties to these agreements follow them consistently, favorable external conditions are ensured for eliminating one of the most acute regional conflicts. Urgent humanitarian and economic aid is necessary to successfully implement the Geneva accords, especially with regard to Afghan refugees' who volunteer to return home. The huge number of mines scattered by the insurgents on Afghanistan's highways and in rural areas—about which there is often insufficient information—seriously impede this. Large-scale minesweeping is not only dangerous but costly.

It is the duty of all members of the world community to help the unfortunate Afghan people restore peace and tranquillity on their territory and heal the wounds inflicted by the war. The time has come to confirm our affection and compassion for the Afghans through concrete actions. These feelings are spoken of with such grandiloquence by Western leaders, including those who supplied and are continuing to supply the "irreconcilable" Afghan opposition with the mines and the "Stinger" and "Blowpipe" missiles.

Incidentally, rebel leaders have recently been pestering Washington with requests for a sharp increase in the shipments of missiles and other sophisticated arms. THE WASHINGTON POST wrote that this is being done to strike "Afghan and Soviet facilities." As we can see, different Afghans demand different aid.

People in Washington graciously receive opposition emissaries. There is no end to the flood of weapons through Pakistani territory in violation of the Geneva agreements. These weapons are used to bombard Kabul, Qandahar, Jalalabad, and other Afghan cities. The U.S. Administration's election fever and the vagueness of its budget are no obstacle to its shipments. I think that it is time for all parties to the Geneva agreements to set about fulfilling their pledges in earnest and concentrate their main efforts on humanitarian and economic aid, which the people of Afghanistan especially need today.

Friction Among Afghan Rebel Groups Examined

PM1710073188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Our correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik report under the rubric "Dispatch from Afghanistan": "Mounting Contradictions"]

[Text] Despite numerous statements on full mutual understanding and close cooperation in the struggle for the "sacred cause of Islam," contradictions among the antigovernment Afghan opposition parties and organizations are mounting with every passing day. For instance, the DPA news agency has reported that Mohammad Yosuf, the former Afghan prime minister who lives in the FRG, recently put forward a proposal "for the convocation of a conference on ways to settle the Afghan crisis with the participation of representatives of the resistance movement and influential Afghan statesmen of past regimes." However, the "Alliance of the Seven" has rejected this proposal, declaring that any initiative to establish peace in Afghanistan put forward without the agreement of the Peshawar "Seven" is unacceptable.

This is not the first such statement by the "Alliance of the Seven" to come out of Peshawar and it merely testifies to the stubborn unwillingness of the leaders of the Alliance to consider the views of even such prominent political figures of the Afghan opposition as Mohammad Yosuf because they themselves would like to play the main role in deciding the future fate of Afghanistan. The strife in the opposition camp has further exacerbated lately and taken the form of direct armed clashes. Thus, according to Afghan press reports, real clashes are under way in the northern provinces of Afghanistan between Shi'ite and Sunni armed groupings. The situation has deteriorated to such an extent that the leaders of these groupings in Iran and Pakistan have dispatched their emissaries to Afghanistan to establish order in their detachments. The clashes that take place during the division of the property stolen from the population and as a result of internal differences between the armed groupings of the "Alliance of the Seven" are no less acute. In the past few days alone, such clashes have taken place in Konduz, Samangan, and Herat province.

The wave of terror and plunder in Afghan refugee camps is increasingly turning the Afghans living in Pakistan and also the local population against the armed Afghan opposition. Afghan refugees from the "Alizai" camp located on the outskirts of Kohat city did not allow G. Hekmatyar, the leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, to come and address them. Only intervention by the Pakistani police prevented reprisals against one of the ringleaders of the "irreconcilables." Many Pushtun tribes in Pakistan actively favor the discontinuation of military aid to the armed detachments of the opposition.

The leaders of the Peshawar opposition are feverishly trying to strengthen their ranks which are being torn apart by internal struggles. Numerous detachments of foreign military advisers and emissaries are also trying to eliminate these struggles. According to the Afghan Army General Staff, at the end of September alone, several commissions of the "Alliance of the Seven" including advisers from the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia were dispatched to various parts of Afghanistan from Pakistan to resolve conflicts between the diverse Islamic parties and groupings. Commissions of this kind are now "at work" under the insurgents' reinforced guard in Qandahar, Herat, and Parvan province.

Despite this, many armed detachments of the opposition continue to settle their relations through bitter clashes. Frequently, the foreign "guests" who have come to pacify "the fighters for their faith," fall victim to this struggle. Thus, on 28 September of this year in the village of Koh-e Khoshki in Lowgar province, an Arab adviser—who had arrived in the area the day before to coordinate combat operations between the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Islamic Society of Afghanistan—was killed as a result of a firefight which flared up between two hostile insurgent groupings.

Fierce clashes are currently in progress all over Afghanistan between detachments of insurgents belonging to the various Islamic parties of the opposition.

Envoy on Mideast Conference, Ties With Israel

NC2010122188 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1135 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Kuwait, 20 Oct (MENA)—Soviet Ambassador in Egypt Gennadiy Zhuravlev has stressed his country's support for holding the international Middle East peace conference. He said that diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union will not be restored until after Israel agrees to the holding of this conference.

In an interview with the Kuwaiti paper AL-WATAN published today, the Soviet ambassador revealed that his country has proposed the formation of a working committee from the permanent members of the Security Council whose task would be to activate the dialogue among the concerned parties to resolve the Middle East problem. But he added that this committee is not a substitute for holding the international peace conference.

The ambassador noted the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations and said this would benefit the international community.

The Soviet ambassador called on the Arabs to unite their stands and to state their poposals on Middle East problems clearly.

Regarding Egyptian-Soviet relations, Shuravlev expressed the view that the exchange of officials between the two countries is a new development in these relations. He stressed that the two countries' basic interests have not conflicted throughout the past few years.

Concluding his interview, the Soviet ambassador said that President Husni Mubarak has been invited to visit the Soviet Union before the end of this year. He added that the Soviet foreign minister is expected to visit Egypt and the Arab region soon.

'Good' Prospects for Trade With Iran Noted

PM1910132988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 p 5

[Report by V. Zhukov: "Fair in Tehran"]

[Text] Tehran-Moscow—The 14th Tehran international trade fair has completed its work. For 12 days in late September the state flags of the 37 countries taking part fluttered in the searing heat of the capital of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The aim was to acquaint foreign business circles with Iran's export potential and to provide export opportunities for foreign countries. Some 9 socialist countries, 17 capitalist countries, and 11 developing countries brought their goods to the fair.

What does Tehran look like today? The sandbags which protected the lower stories of business buildings against missiles have not yet been removed everywhere. But it is not hard to read on Iranians' faces that all that is already in the past. Postwar problems lie ahead.

And there are many of them. Inflation is galloping out of control. A high cost of living rules. There is a shortage of necessities—prices of which, including food prices, are constantly growing. And all this against the background of unemployment. According to some figures, over 15 percent of Iran's able-bodied population is out of work. The housing question is acute, especially in the cities. The ending of the war and the transfer of the country's economy to a civilian footing will obviously generate new difficulties. After all, it will be necessary to provide work, housing, and necessities for thousands and thousands of militiamen and demobilized regular army soldiers.

But let's return to the fair. What did the hosts show? Virtually the entire range of Iranian goods which are now being produced. There is output of the chemical, medical, food, road and house building, leather and footwear, automobile, timber and furniture, metallurgical, and textile industries and of agriculture. Some of this is familiar to the Soviet consumer: dried fruits, henna, black hair dye, hides. But the fair showed that this list could be considerably expanded. The USSR trade mission estimates that a number of Iranian consumer goods could be of interest to the Soviet side, including paint and varnish output, footwear, knitwear, some types of medicinal raw material, various canned and fresh vegetables and fruits, metal dishes, gas cookers, ceramic sanitary ware, and tiles...

The developed capitalist countries will be represented at the fair by several dozen large and medium firms. The FRG firms mounted the largest exhibition among the foreign participants. Several stands displayed diesel generators of various capacities. Iranian specialists' assessment of the FRG exhibits was curious: These machines may be given preference only because there are no difficulties to get spare parts for them."

Well, what did the Soviet foreign trade organizations show in Tehran? The Soviet Union produced an exhibition with 14 all-union associations taking part. We asked V. Borisov, the Soviet trade representative in Iran, to describe the situation in trade relations between the USSR and Iran.

"At present," he stressed, "good prospects are opening up for Soviet-Iranian trade and economic ties. Soviet foreign trade organizations have a good reputation on the Iranian market. Indeed, the Soviet goods which are supplied are in demand. The growth which has begun in trade exchange between the two countries will, we hope, be brought to $300 million this year. At the same time we cannot fail to be worried about some problems. There are 22 Soviet foreign trade organizations operating in Iran today. They have traditional ties of many years' standing with their Iranian partners and a permanent range of commodities in export and import operations. But all this can no longer satisfy us. Today our partners are interested in new foreign trade organizations with their own exports and imports entering the Iranian market."

Iran's desire to reduce its foreign trade's dependence on oil exports is in turn objectively helping to expand the delivery to the USSR of goods unconnected with oil. Guided by the principle of reciprocity, Iranian organizations confirm their readiness for counter-purchases of Soviet commodities—machinery, equipment, and mechanical articles. Where would the problem seem to be? However, not everything is going smoothly in actual practice. Above all, Iranian organizations do not get sufficient information about the potential of the Soviet export-import program. They know of the restructuring of the USSR's foreign economic activity which is taking place. They also know of the creation of many new sectorial foreign trade organizations. Unfortunately, our enterprises and departments, which have received the right to go out into the international arena—including the market of neighboring Iran—are in no hurry to implement this right.

This lack of enterprise is unforgivable today. Good time is being lost. The market which is opening up could be captured by competitors. The newly created Soviet foreign trade organizations, especially those with a products list of goods for the Iranian market, should make themselves known in Iran. Saving on advertising is stupid, to say the least. As a rule, this saving results in substantial subsequent losses of currency funds.

This year saw the 25th anniversary of Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation. The first agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and Iran was signed 27 July 1963, laying the foundation of fundamental economic ties between the two neighboring countries. Since then 120 various industrial and other establishments have been jointly constructed on Iran's territory and now play an important part in its economy.

The Soviet delegation headed by V. Korolev, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations, took part in the USSR National Day at the fair. Addressing the gathering, he said: "The restructuring taking place in the USSR will promote the further development of the Soviet Union's economic and industrial potential. Thanks to this it will in the future be able to assist the Islamic Republic of Iran in the construction of energy establishments, the development of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the transportation sector, the mining and coal industry, the installation of urban housing construction and water economy establishments, and in other sectors of the economy."

The Iranian side treated the Soviet Union's participation in the 14th Tehran fair favorably. The Soviet exhibit was seen by responsible leaders of Iran's sectorial ministries, who left in the honored guests' book, words of thanks and wishes for the further expansion of Soviet-Iranian cooperation. A talk took place between V. Korolev and Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi. The talks confirmed that Iranian leading circles are ready to develop bilateral cooperation, including in the restoration of the economy. The modernization of the Esfahan metallurgical plant, the expansion of thermal power stations in Esfahan and Ahvaz, and the construction of new thermal power stations, could be the next items for joint work.

Business meetings during the 14th Tehran fair attest to the broad prospects for Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation. We may expect further epoch-making decisions at the 11th session of the joint Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation commission scheduled for this December. The exhibition of Iranian exports which recently opened at the Krasnaya Presnya exhibition complex will also undoubtedly be a positive contribution to the development of Soviet-Iranian trade.

IZVESTIYA: North Yemeni Peace Activists Visit

PM1910140188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Ties Strengthening"]

[Text] A delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] Peace and Solidarity Council headed by Hasan M. Makki, deputy prime minister of the YAR and chairman of the YAR Peace and Solidarity Council, visited the USSR 8 through 15 October at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries.

The guests had meetings and talks with Z.K. Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; K.N. Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister; and M.S. Kapitsa, chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries.

Kamalidenov, Voronin Attend PDRY Reception 14 Oct

PM1910135988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Reception Held"]

[Text] A.'A. 'Abd al-Ilah, ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to the USSR, held a reception 14 October to mark the national holiday—Revolution Day.

The reception was attended by Z.K. Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials.

East Europe

Polish Premier Rakowski Travels to Soviet Union

Interviewed Before Trip

PM2110111588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview in Warsaw with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, by APN correspondent Valeriy Masterov: "Initiative and Responsibility"; date not specified; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski has become the ninth premier in Poland's postwar history. An experienced politician, well known publicist, and resolute advocate of dialogue and democratic transformations, he has taken up a post which Jerzy Urban, the government's press spokesman, called a "stuntman's" post, bearing in mind the incredibly complex internal political and economic situation in the country.

The new premier has begun his work in dynamic fashion. Believing that unless society supports the government's social and economic policy even the finest concepts and plans are doomed to failure, before submitting the new cabinet's composition to the Sejm he held numerous meetings and consultations with representatives of the coalition forces and of public and professional organizations and with figures of various political orientations who are well known in the country.

The first working week of the new government approved by the Sejm, which the influential POLITYKA, whose editor for many years recently was Mieczyslaw Rakowski, has called "a government of expectations and hopes," is drawing to an end. It has been marked by the visit of the chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers to Moscow. Before leaving for Moscow, M. Rakowski granted an interview to Valeriy Masterov, APN correspondent in Warsaw, for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

[Masterov] How do you yourself intend to carry out the activity of your cabinet, which, to use your own definition, embodies "a government of committed reformers"?

[Rakowski] I believe that we must take our cue from intelligent, bold people such as I have endeavored to select for the government. But, of course, this does not exhaust the attainment of the goal. There are many fine, active people in Poland, particularly among the young and middle generation, who really want to do something. In my opinion, a government formed even from the very best reformers convinced of the need for the economic and social system's profound restructuring will do little unless it turns to just such people.

[Masterov] How did you seek those who must be guided by this philosophy?

[Rakowski] I sought, above all, courageous and wise people with their own opinions. For example, Professor J. Fisiak, rector of Poznan University, has become minister of national education. He is a specialist in English philology, well known even abroad, a scientific authority, and a very efficient organizer. He is extremely principled, if it is a question of defending socialist principles, and a broad thinker. I can rely on him: He will seek new solutions to problems, unafraid to depart from the established rules. Another example—Industry Ministry M. Wilczek, whose appointment has aroused all too much comment, particularly in the Western press, which claimed that "Rakowski has done something amazing: He has taken into the government a capitalist and PZPR member." However, it assiduously ignored the fact that Wilczek worked for 20 years at a state enterprise, where he acquired experience, and that I invited him not as an entrepreneur but as an experienced production worker who knows both the state sector and the private sector. He is a man who will be able to investigate structures which have been motionless for many years. For one cause of our weaknesses is the fact that certain structures and systems of management and leadership have remained altogether untouched for decades. It is on this, in fact, that the red tape that is now of particular concern to the public in your country is based. I would also call D. Jastrzebski—minister of foreign economic cooperation and former director of the "PAGED" foreign trade enterprise—an atypical government member. For the career of government member in our country was so structured that you had to mount all the rungs in turn until you "grew up" to be a minister. And while you were "growing up," you would turn 50.

[Masterov] In the television reportage from the new government's first session held Monday the camera focused attention several times on empty seats....

[Rakowski] The thing is that, as you know, in seeking to form a government on a wider social platform, I offered a number of high posts to people belonging to the so-called "constructive opposition." They refused, and the camera rightly showed vacant seats. I did not offer those seats out of tactical considerations, for the sake of a political game. I believe the time has come to invite these people both to joint government and to joint responsibility in accordance with the conditions of the situation which has taken shape in Poland. It is my profound conviction that they refused, above all, because they do not want to bear the burden of responsibility. They did, perhaps, want to govern jointly but not to be responsible—responsible together with myself.

[Masterov] Prices and incomes policy proved the most vulnerable part of the former government's activity. What changes will it undergo?

[Rakowski] I believe that the government which I lead will be reaping the fruits of what has already happened for another month or two. There is little that can be countered here, and we must even reckon on a certain growth in inflation in the immediate future. But we are preparing countermeasures which we will use in the new year. I believe they will lead to a lowering of the inflation threshold. There will be a whole series of decisions of an economic nature.

[Masterov] Among the strategic priorities of government policy you have named the development of agriculture and the food industry. How do you see the food problem being resolved?

[Rakowski] Poland has a well developed industry. For example, the machine-building industry in people's Poland has increased production a hundredfold compared with prewar output! But the proportion producing equipment for agriculture stands at just 4-5 percent. Just compare this proportion with the place which agriculture occupies in the country's national economy. Therefore I would like, above all, a different distribution of capital investments.

We have very many small farms. And we have been saying for many years that we need a small tractor capable of performing several operations. But this tractor does not exist even today. How can such a situation be tolerated for many years? The first thing is to create a psychological climate among the "captains of industry" whereby they do not treat agriculture as the fifth wheel on the cart. And another very important aspect is the processing of agricultural produce. We have a very great deal of waste here. Approximately 20 percent of produce is not processed because the appropriate factories do not exist. As long as people take a wasteful attitude to what man has created, there will be no support for economic policy.

[Masterov] In recent years the miners of Silesia, the port workers of Sz czecin, and the shipbuilders of Gdansk have constituted a dangerously explosive social stratum, if I may say so. How does the new government react to these "hotbeds"?

[Rakowski] Speaking of the miners, the chief cause of the strikes in August was the many wrong decisions or, rather, injustices on the administration's part. Then, as a consequence, this was utilized by the political opponent. The management structures in the mining industry must be thoroughly revised. Everything that is a manifestation of disregard for the working person must be eliminated.

Speaking of Gdansk and Sz czecin, a definite regional difference stands out here. The Gdansk shipyard was the cradle of "Solidarity," and this tradition, the myths that have taken shape, and the activity of Father Jankowski in Saint Brigid's Church aimed at maintaining hostility toward the authorities in people's Poland give rise to the emergence of a social and political climate in which the most extremist elements can always count on support. But it must be remembered that workers must not be considered to adhere to positions opposed to socialism. It is from them that we must get a response every day—by means of our own logical arguments.

[Masterov] The number one topic in Poland's internal political life is the "roundtable," which will be a meeting place for representatives of different world outlooks and orientations. What does the government expect from this?

[Rakowski] Above all, an agreement among these various forces on issues of the greatest importance to the country. I am convinced that there is no more important matter for Poland than the creation of favorable conditions for growth in output and growth throughout the national economy. I believe that this is the paramount task, and I would like this "roundtable" to allow its participants to recognize this as the most important matter and to subordinate their own and also group interests to this task.

[Masterov] Before your first trip abroad as premier I would like to ask you to dwell on the new Polish Government's foreign policy priorities.

[Rakowski] Relations with the Soviet Union are, of course, in first place. For many reasons, including historical ones remote in time, and by virtue of the fact that they can be counted from 1945. Our eastern border has now been quiet for as many years. This alone can go down in history as an example of a relationship between peoples. There are other reasons too, very topical ones. There is full agreement with restructuring in the Soviet Union and awareness that we must proceed together in this march leading to transformations of socialism which will strengthen it. It seems to me that this unity was vividly demonstrated during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Poland this summer. There are many other factors that make the Soviet Union our first and most important ally and partner.

Rakowski Arrives, Met by Ryzhkov

LD2010171388 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, arrived in Moscow today on a friendly working visit.

At the airport, he was welcomed by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Rakowski, Ryzhkov Begin Talks

LD2110072088 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—Soviet-Polish talks began in the Kremlin today between Nikolay Ryzhkov, a member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the USSR council of Ministers, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, a member of the Polish United Workers' Party Central committee Politburo, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

The head of the Polish government arrived in the Soviet Union on a friendly working visit on Thursday.

Rakowski: Poland Need Not Suffer 'Stagnation'

PM2010093788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[V. Runov article: "In Favor of National Agreement; New Polish Government's Program"]

[Text] Warsaw—On that day, 13 October, looking out from the press gallery, one was immediately struck by the fact that the box reserved for the Council of Ministers was empty. Only one person sat on the sturdy, spacious benches—Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the head of the new Polish Government, while the former ministers sat humbly in the guest boxes, a TASS correspondent in Warsaw reports to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

The premier's program speech was the shortest in the Polish Sejm's entire postwar history. It lasted only 35 minutes. The spirit of the whole speech, written in simple, comprehensible language and without an excessive amount of figures or scientific estimates, was conveyed in the first two paragraphs.

"It is not true," M. Rakowski began, "that Poland has to suffer from stagnation, marking time to no purpose, to become a country inhabited by disappointed and embittered people. It is not true that nothing good can be done in Poland: This picture is deceptive and false. Utilizing all real potential, the government will try to ease or eliminate everything that complicates life and makes people unhappy with good reason. I am not announcing what we shall do first, because there have been far too many declarations. The government will inform the public not so much of its intentions as of its decisions and their consequences.

He proposed creating a union in opposition to all those who answer everything new and unusual by saying: This cannot be done, that is impossible, there is no money for something else.

The premier stated that he will try to shape a democratic, law-based, modern Poland. Everything that has been turned upside down will be brought back to normal. The aim is to build the kind of socialism in which every honest patriot feels good and has an opportunity to influence the work of his enterprise, his neighborhood, and local and central authorities.

At the end of his speech the premier presented 10 new candidates for ministers' posts. During 2 weeks of intensive consultations he held dozens of meetings with representatives of diverse political orientations. He offered four ministries and a vice premiership to a whole series of people from among the so-called constructive opposition. But not one of them agreed to join the government.

The political aspect of the refusal was perceived by the premier as demonstrating a fear of taking on responsibility for the country's destiny and a wish to stay on the sidelines when times get hard and to limit themselves, as ever, to criticizing any of the authorities' actions.

A striking feature is that the new Council of Ministers contains major specialists and people with an unconventional turn of mind.

Suffice it to mention just one of them—Mieczyslaw Wilczek—appointed as Polish minister of industry.

This is the man who 20 years ago, as the director of a major production association, refused work in state structures which did not give him the opportunity to realize his potential, and to implement his own inventions, which were patented in many countries throughout the world. He became co-owner of an enterprise which had a foreign capital stake in it and made millions in profits. When he received the offer to join the government he gave up his ownership. In his first interview he stated that he intended to do everything to make the enterprise spirit permeate all economic structures. He believes that, besides major industry, small and medium enterprises with different forms of ownership should develop successfully.

It cannot be said that the deputies were unanimously behind the new premier's proposals. But everyone was unanimous in their support for his intentions.

Alfred Miodowicz, a representative of the OPZZ, saw in the premier's speech the beginnings of the administration's new philosophy. But he stressed that the trade unions will continue consistently defending working people's interests and that the premier cannot count on their support regardless of the situation. The trade unions will build their attitude to the authorities on the basis of specific results.

A lively debate lasting 2 days ended in the Sejm with approval of the new government's program of activity and acceptance of all the proposals relating to its personnel put forward by the Polish Council of Ministers chairman.

Jaruzelski Addresses New Polish Government

PM2010151188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In Expectation Of Changes"]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct—A large part of Polish society is expecting real changes which will make it possible to take a more confident view of the future and shrug off the apathy, pessimism, and sense of impotence. This was stated by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, at the first session of the new Polish Government.

The Polish leader called the new cabinet a government with great prospects. The opportunities that present themselves have an international as well as domestic political dimension since the government has to tackle tasks connected with the renewal of socialism and development of East-West relations. He expressed confidence that the republic's new Council of Ministers will cope with the tasks facing it. The government's actions must be bold, assertive, and original, smashing bureaucratic resistance and cheap demagoguery. At the same time they must be balanced, intelligible to the people, taking their needs and mood into account, and geared to a concrete result.

The action strategy remains the key question. It is necessary to seek harmonious optimal solutions which will make it possible, on the one hand, to achieve great economic efficiency and, on the other hand, attain the humane goals of socialism and make its ideas more attractive. Thus far we have been unable to achieve such a harmony. The new government has to do its utmost to implement this task.

The danger that attempts will be made to hinder the Council of Ministers' work by organizing various provocations must also be remembered. We are fully convinced of the need for accord; it is an indestructible political line, W. Jaruzelski noted. He pointed out that the new government must be, on the one hand, strong in terms of society's support, which has to be struggled for, and, on the other hand, strict in observance of laws. In these matters the Council of Ministers' stance must be unequivocal: It is necessary to consistently eliminate all that hinders its work and undermines trust in the state admimistration.

In foreign policy it is necessary to confirm the reform orientation and the determination to uphold the principles of socialism and strengthen the country's authority as a reliable ally and attractive partner, the Polish leader said.

A number of resolutions were adopted at the session. An economic committee, headed by Polish Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman J. Sekula, was set up to carry out day-to-day direction and coordination of the work of individual national economic sectors. The social-political committee, headed by minister A. Kwasniewski, will be the body that adopts day-to-day measures in the field of implementation of state policy in the social sphere and information policy. A resolution was adopted on cutting the staff of state control bodies by 20 percent before the end of the year.

Polish Secretary Urges 'New Face' for Socialism

PM2010133988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee: "For a New Face for Socialism"]

[Text] Warsaw—The PZPR has entered the 8th year of implementation of the strategy of socialist renewal, struggle, and accord, elaborated at the extraordinary 9th congress and developed at the 10th congress, with many significant achievements. But also with a feeling that not everything has been done yet.

The new face of socialism is taking shape in Poland. Our party is the initiator of and main motive force behind this revolutionary process started by the memorable workers' protest in August 1980. It is acting in concert with the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party and is united and massing around it all the progressive and patriotic forces of the people. The healthy transformations which are consolidating society are inextricably bound up with the name of Wojciech Jaruzelski—party and state leader, dedicated communist and soldier, and outstanding state figure.

On the path to a better future that is really worthy of being called socialism we have to overcome many obstacles, negotiate many submerged rocks, resolutely discard everything that is obsolete, and seek out original, often innovative decisions. In specific Polish conditions, the realities of the eighties, the creation of a qualitatively new system is an extraordinarily difficult matter. We now know better, probably, than at any other time of late how difficult, subtle, and protracted the process is. That is why we say that we have less socialism than there can and should be tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.

The creation of a new face for socialism in Poland demands a great deal. Overcoming development contradictions, but at the same time removing the burden of the negative legacy of the past. Visibly creating a new day-to-day reality that accords with the hopes and aspirations of the working class and the whole of society, but at the same time ensuring that the foundation is established for a high level of prosperity in future years and decades. Consistently combatting opposition forces acting against the existing system, but at the same time combatting one's own weaknesses. Resolutely mounting opposition to pressure from external forces hostile to socialism and communism, but at the same time limiting the influence of bureaucratic and conservative forces in one's own ranks. Removing the Stalinist "accretion," the dogmatic and idealistic way of thinking in the social sciences, but at the same time fully reviving the scientific nature and role of Marxism as a dialectical, comprehensive and critical, and unblinkered method of realistically analyzing and defining reality and then formulating conclusions and directives leading to progress.

We can now see better than ever before that we will not build socialism without the participation of a telling majority of society or in defiance of it. We are not going to implement the great cause of renewal and reforms alone. The party's political mission is to involve active forces of the people, by means of dialogue and accord, in a public, anticrisis coalition advocating reforms.

National accord in Poland has one special feature: Dialogue between the state and the church. Despite numerous as yet unresolved problems, past years have brought many significant although not entirely satisfactory achievements, a kind of historical compromise that goes beyond the bounds of Polish horizons: Cooperate in all things that concern the people's most vital interests while maintaining open ideological rivalry. It is now not only possible, but entirely feasible.

The persistent implementation of the strategic line of national accord has brought qualitatively new results of late. The logic of the development of events has led to the resumption of dialogue and talks with the forces of the opposition within society, that is, the opposition that respects constitutional public and political order.

Representatives of so-called independent and opposition circles will soon gather around a kind of "roundtable" along with emissaries from all the political forces represented in the Sejm and in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, as well as representatives of the church. There is a possibility that the sessions will shed light on the future shape of the broadly conceived reform of the country's political and economic system and of the trade union model. It must be admitted that incorporating a "constructive opposition" element in the system and model for a socialist state is not the easiest of tasks. In short, it is a novelty. Nothing like it has existed before, in fact.

We realize that recent events in Poland, including the "roundtable" idea, could cause certain doubts and even concern among our friends abroad. This is natural and understandable. In fact there have been many questions about it in Poland as well.

The initiative will always be with us. The party is completely on top of the situation. Organized and responsible political forces are controlling the course of events. The limits of compromise were defined by the PZPR Central Committee 8th Plenum. There can be no return to "Solidarity" as it was in 1981. I stress—in the form in which it existed before 13 December 1981.

At the same time, there are other possible solutions. And they will be discussed. We follow the principle: One trade union at one enterprise. Any other solution would again give rise to a mechanism of rivalry in demands relating to pay and social issues and would lead to the threat of strike fever and anarchy. The trade union movement model is an open question, however. This is also the view of the trade union members themselves in the National Trade Union Alliance, which has seven million members.

Recent events have also given rise to a degree of confusion and disorientation in the ranks of the party itself and in broad circles of firm supporters of the system of social justice. The question again arises: What kind of socialism?

Our goal is a new Polish model of democratic socialism, socialism free from Stalinist distortions. Our vision is one of a socialism created by the masses themselves, oriented toward the welfare, development, and self-realization of human beings and toward the elimination of their social alienation. It is a system that brings individual subjectiveness in line with the welfare of the whole people. A dynamic socialism capable of creative development, variability of forms, and self-regulation. A socialism capable of harmonizing justice and rights with effectiveness and duties. A socialism of stable, universal principles and values, the most important of which are the predominance of public ownership of the means of production, the leading role of the working class, the leading and directing role of the PZPR, and internationalism in ideology and politics.

The creation of a contemporary concept of socialism demands first and foremost a massive intellectual effort by all theoretical and ideological components of the PZPR and lively and constructive debate not only in the party, but throughout society.

This debate is already under way and it is gradually growing. Its next stage is the third national theoretical and ideological conference at the end of the year. The most urgent task at the moment, as we see it, is to focus decisions and debate on the three key problems of socialist renewal: the essence, class concept, and frontiers of Polish socialist pluralism in the context of the development of the idea of national accord; transformation of the types and forms of ownership in a socialist state in order simultaneously to ensure more effective management and implementation of the principles of social justice, in particular by seeking effective new forms of socializing state ownership; the party's status in an economy undergoing reform and in the state—functions, methods, and mechanisms that are of decisive significance for effective leadership in the new conditions.

The place and role of the Marxist-Leninist party is in essence the central problem in all discussions about Poland and its future and about socialism and its nature. Today, as on several previous occasions in its history, the PZPR is at a crucial stage, facing great trials.

A new model of the PZPR, an up-to-date view of its implementation of its role as the guiding force in society and the leading force in the state, a force at the service of the interests of the workign class and all the people—that is an essential condition for meeting the demands of the present and future.

Our party is now facing with new urgency a dilemma put forward by Marx, and fully observed by Lenin: how to become a force that effectively stabilizes the system and its main system of values, while remaining simultaneously a reforming force, a party of creative social dissatisfaction with the existing situation. How to be a party of social transformations, and at the same time an opposition party with regard to everything that does not stand the test of time, how to be a party that not only takes steps to change reality, but actually outstrips that reality by predicting its development and molding it in accordance with the ideals and aims of the socialist revolution.

The party must adapt its principles, its forms and methods of action, and the style and climate of intraparty life to suit this concept of its role and functions. This means, in particular, a new interpretation of democracy and centralism in the party, in accordance with consistemt observance of the principle: as much democracy as possible; as much discipline as necessary. The concept of the party as a common fund of ideas, people, and reality meets this end—the concept of the party as a political organization which is a social movement with manifest elements of self-management by the people, organizations, and institutions belonging to it.

There is an urgent need to create a new formula for the PZPR's political activity, based on truthfulness, trust, and high public prestige. We must throw out the ballast that retards the efficiency of our actions, fetters the party with formalism, bureaucracy, and red tape, and, most importantly, makes us tackle everything at once and do the work of other institutions and organizations.

The PZPR must become a party of a really new type, a party that has been "remodeled" substantially, on an evolutionary basis.

There are many indications that the next few months, from now until the National Conference of Delegates to the 10th Congress, can and must at last bring the expected breakthrough in implementing the decisions of the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses, creating the conditions for rallying all our society's active forces and setting them in motion, and crystallizing the basic principles of the new face of socialism in Poland.

This is not confined to our country. The entire socialist world is undergoing great changes and facing the necessity, and at the same time the opportunity, for a profound, qualitative renewal of society, an increase in its dynamism. The parallel, coincident, and interdependent nature of the restructuring, renewal, and reforms in the USSR, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the CSSR, and the changes taking place in other coutnries, including the PRC, promote rapprochement and mutual understanding between peoples, the heightened effectiveness of mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres, and the useful exchange of experience in party and state work. This determines the homogeneity of the nature of the contemporary historical stage in the development of socialism, which must fully reveal and develop its creative potential and its inherent humanism.

It is also significant that the international situation is now developing more favorably than in earlier years. There is a marked prevalence of positive trends in such important matters for the general political climate as East-West contacts. New all-European relations are gradually emerging, and the concept of the common European home is crystallizing. There is a growing awareness of the indivisibility and interdependence of the modern world and of the common fate and responsibility of all the peoples. The ideas of the new political thinking are beginning to penetrate practical politics and are increasingly finding expression in concrete action.

The time factor is of exceptional significance today. What could formerly be done in a year we now have to achieve in a month, what was once done in a month is now done in a week. What matters most of all today is forward movement. Energetic, tangible, and effective actions, the practical resolution, step by step, of concrete problems in economics, politics, and ideology.

In fact, there is no other way.

New Polish Cabinet 'Radically Different'

PM2010154088 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS-attributed article "for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" by A. Shapovalov: "The Polish Government: Before the People's Eyes"]

[Text] The session of Poland's Sejm held at the end of last week was an important event for many Poles. First and foremost because it gave them hope and showed in practice that in an exceptionally complex situation, appropriate measures are being adopted.

Many people associate this with the personality of the new chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. M. Rakowski is 62. He is a very experienced politician and statesman. In his youth he worked as a lathe operator, joined the Polish People's Army as a volunteer, and served as an officer and political worker. Then came studies, and work on the PZPR Central Committee. For nearly 25 years he was chief editor of the weekly POLITYKA, which printed articles that prompted many reproaches at that time, when there were different methods of government. In the eighties M. Rakowski has been deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, vice marshal of the Sejm, and secretary and Politburo member of the PZPR Central Committee.

M. Rakowski's program address in the Sejm was unusual. Taking less than an hour (for the first time in Polish parliamentary practice) to set forth the government's plans, the premier pointed to the gravity of the problems in the economy and stressed that in tackling socioeconomic tasks priority will be given to agriculture, the food industry, housing construction, and environmental conservation.

The choice of members of the new government is also unusual. Concerned to widen the basis of the coalition, M. Rakowski reserved the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and three ministerial posts for those who number themselves among opposition circles. But he was unable to fulfill his intentions: A refusal came from these circles. The political aspect of this refusal, TRYBUNA LUDU notes, is unequivocal. The position of an observer fron the sidelines, the voice of more or less accurate criticism, is clearly more comfortable and convenient than participation in collaboration, in sharing the responsibility for what happens. Nonetheless the premier stressed in his speech that the doors remain open and the four posts are still vacant.

As a result Poland today has a new government of radically different composition: It has 10 new members. Only four of the former government remain—National Defense Minister Army General F. Siwicki; Internal Affairs Minister General of Arms Cz. Kisz czak; Foreign Minister T. Olechowski; and Culture and Art Minister A. Krawczuk.

The press draws attention to the fact that economic management policy has been entrusted to people who have enormous competence and experience, acquired not only in the leadership of publicly owned economic organizations, but also in private business activity. Thus M. Wilczek, who has become head of the Ministry of Industry, is a private businessman and co-owner of a firm with foreign capital. Today, in a period in which all sectors of the economy are equal, this fact, TRYBUNA LUDU notes, should not surprise us.

You have to be realistic. The process of replacing the government, extraordinary as it may be, has not in itself solved all Poland's problems. They still exist, and in some spheres are even growing worse. First and foremost there are difficulties in supply and in controlling family budgets because of the growth in inflation and prices, the housing shortage...

The resignation of the government headed by Z. Messner was not, as the PZPR Central Committee organ points out, an ordinary personnel crisis in the government cabinet. It is a question of major problems connected with improving the system of functioning of the economy and the exercise of power. Poland's huge debt, the imperfect structure of the country's economy, and the high materials-intensiveness of the national income create an objective mechanism that promotes the growth of inflation. On the other hand, imbalances in the market, aggravated by an irrational system of prices and labor remuneration and the issuing of money with nothing to support it, generate acute tension in daily life, as a result of which emotions and a lack of confidence in tomorrow take the upper hand.

Naturally, antisocialist forces, especially the former "Solidarity" grouping, hurried to take advantage of this situation. With the support of Western propaganda centers, they are going through what is primarily an old, tried and tested scenario: First you put forward economic demands, and then political demands, first and foremost for the restoration of "Solidarity." And you stop at nothing: neither rumors, nor idle talk about how if the authorities had not prevented it, there would have been an unprecedented miracle, first and foremost in the sphere of consumption.

Yet the population's excessively stimulated demands and aspirations in this sphere cannot be satisfied, TRYBUNA LUDU notes. If deliveries of goods to the market increase by 10 percent a year (which is unrealistic), the state still will not be able to remove all the money now in the population's hands. Of course, this and other facts are hard to get across to people, but it is necessary, the newspaper stresses, to be realistic above all.

The new government is not beginning its work in an easy situation, not everyone likes the measures it is adopting. Last Sunday, for instance, there were disturbances in Gdansk after the service at St Brigid's church.

The organizers tried to erect barricades, damage municipal facilities, and pin political slogans to the buildings with the aim of undermining the Polish Government's efforts to improve the country's economic position.

Opposition Seen Obstructing Polish Dialogue

PM1810111988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own Correspondent L. Toporkov report under the "Notes A Propos" rubric: "Adding to the Corners on the 'Round Table'"]

[Text] Warsaw—Last Sunday religious believers in Poland marked the 10th anniversary of the accession to the Vatican throne of Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyla to become Pope John Paul II. Polish television broadcast a service from Rome and religious ceremonies appropriate to the occasion were held in Polish churches.

A service was also held at the Church of St Brigyda in Gdansk, where the well-known Father G. Jankowski is parish priest. After hearing "honeyed words and prayers," the throngs of parishioners went out into the parish square to use words totally unrelated to divine teaching.

The crowd yelled anticommunist slogans and demands for the rebirth of "Solidarity." Then they moved off noisily along the streets of downtown Gdansk. On one of the city squares hooligans built barricades out of benches, stalls, and displays which they had torn down in the area and raised banners containing the same kind of thing. They set light to garbage cans and went on shouting: "Hang the communists!", "Militia—Gestapo!", and "Rakowski Out!"

Young members of the illegal "Solidarity," the self-styled "satanists" (who had just come out of god's house, too!), rampaged until evening. They threw rocks and bottles at the militia, hurled insults at them, and tried to provoke clashes.

What was the point of all this? That is the reasonable question that Polish newspapers are asking now. The answer is simple: Extremist antisocialist forces are trying to thwart the process of seeking national consensus which has now begun. A "round table" meeting is about to begin: It will bring together representatives of the most diverse political orientations, including figures of the former "Solidarity," to discuss the fundamental questions of sociopolitical life in Poland, broaden the base of the country's leadership, and remove everything hindering the development of socialism as a truly democratic society.

Not everyone wants that. During the preparations for the "round table" trends have emerged which distort the meaning of the accords reached between the government side and opposition forces whereby the "round rable" will begin work without any prior conditions and its subject matter will not be limited in any way. As TRYBUNA LUDU writes, both in Poland and abroad the view is spreading that the "round table" is meeting merely to legalize "Solidarity" and that this is a prior condition for its opening. And that the leaders of the former "Solidarity" will sit down on one side of the "table" and government leaders on the other.

The opposition is making desperate efforts to pressure the authorities: efforts such as adventures of the Gdansk type (mention should be made of the impoliteness shown toward the Pope), the so-called fait accompli method (at a number of enterprises local "Solidarity" cells are being created secretly), and the rejection of M. Rakowski's proposal that some oppositionists should be admitted into the new government.

So the sharp corners are already increasing on a "round table" which hasn't even begun working yet. The old tactic of torpedoing good intentions in a socialist state goes on. The bankrupt trying to dictate the terms.

Commentator Levin Describes Polish Situation

LD1910192088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] In recent days events in Poland have been attracting attention. As you probably know, last week at a session of the Sejm, Rakowski, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, made a policy speech and introduced the make-up of the new government. Two days later there were reports of hooliganism by a group of young people in Gdansk. What is the nature of the political situaion in Poland today? Our commentator, Viktor Levin, has just returned from a trip to Warsaw and I shall ask him to respond to this question:

[Levin] To answer in brief: Now is a tense time in Poland. In his policy speech Mieczyslaw Rakowski pledged on behalf of the government to act decisively and constructively, but warned that in order to emerge from the difficult social and economic situation it will be necessary to resort to necessary but unpopular measures. It is clear to every serious person that this is unavoidable.

Judge for yourselves: The level of inflation in Poland has reached 60 percent. I can indicate what this means from my own experience. It so happened that I was in Poland in May and was back there in October. Over this period, the prices for many food and industrial goods had increased by one and a half times. When, in February, the previous government (?considered) a price reform, the working people and pensioners did receive a certain addition to their pay. The government gave the assurance that the standard of living would remain as before.

However, prices did not stabilize, nor were there more goods; on the contrary, in my view there were less of them, and the standards of living fell palpably.

This played its role in the strikes of August and ultimately led to the resignation of the government.

The new cabinet of ministers has to commence fulfililng their promises when the limits of confidence in authority have been thoroughly exhausted. Comrade Rakowski recognizes that no one believes in words any more and that what is necessary is specific and real actions.

But here the question arises: To what extent is the government here capable? It fell to me to speak with many journalists, and party workers, social figures, and they all remarked that the situation is complicated.

To the direct question as to whether new strikes are possible, practically everyone answered in the affirmative.

But what is remarkable is that today the mood in society is different from the summer of 1980. As far as I am able to judge, the majority of Poles are aware that problems cannot be resolved through strikes. However, the extremists—and there are not a few of them—do not want to heed anything but their egoistical interests. In so far as apathy is clearly in evidence among many working people, the doings of the extremists may prove to be fraught with great unpleasantnesses. Not one of the Polish friends with whom I conversed radiated rose-colored optimism. In discussions, the difficulties were stressed, but this in no way means they are regarded as a fatal destiny. The PZPR, its allies, and all Polish patriots see their task not in giving in to difficulties, but in persistently and stubbornly overcoming them. If real actions by the new government receive the support of the masses, one may be assured that People's Poland will move forward.

Plenum Appeals for Pan-Yugoslavian Unity

PM2110091988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Oct 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Poroshin dispatch: "'Without LCY Unity There Is No Yugoslavia'"]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct—It had already been reported that the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum was over. However, the problems that have built up in the country and the acuteness of the political, economic, and social position—on which there were heated discussions at the plenum—made its participants continue the session.

The 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum, which examined the LCY's direct tasks in overcoming the unfavorable political, economic, and social position in the country, overran its planned schedule, and its work was continued. Today, on its third day, questions relating to the setting up of a special commission on transforming the LCY and ensuring cadre renewal in the Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee were submitted for discussion.

The discussion in leading and local party organs on the eve of the plenum was stormy and highly critical. Judging by its intensity, the current plenum could have turned into a forum for sharp political accusations and a kind of "debating society," which could have caused a factional struggle throughout the party with far-reaching consequences.

Yugoslav Communists did not allow this to happen, reaffirming for the umpteenth time that they not only recognize the complexity of the situation but shoulder full responsibility for getting the country out of the situation that has arisen. It is impossible to carry out such a task without ensuring the genuine unity of party ranks and rallying them around the leading organ. The LCY Central Committee Presidium has taken an unambiguous stance on this issue and won the confidence of all Central Committee members. S. Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stated on this issue: "We in the presidium mustd know whether we have the confidence of you members of the Central Committee. We are prepared," he stressed, "to work with full responsibility, but we cannot carry out this task under conditions of unfounded criticism and pressure."

It seems to me that putting the question like this is not a matter of playing at democracy, but shows the presidium's faith in its own strength, in its party comrades, and in the reality and feasibility of the tasks which the plenum outlined for implementation.

Attentive analysis of the discussion results leads us to think that a statewide approach to resolving accumulated problems prevailed at the current plenum. Judging by the speeches, most Central Committee members quite clearly realize that, under the conditions of the continuing crisis, further exacerbation of the contradictions between republics and provinces and between federal and local organs of power is tantamount to suicide. That is why the plenum put forward with unprecedented acuteness the slogan: "The basis of Yugoslav unity is above all the policy of fraternity and unity. Only this policy provides prospects for further socialist development." One speaker said: "Without LCY unity there is no Yugoslavia."

This complex and vitally important task requires new thinking, different approaches to long-standing problems, and a radical renewal and rejuvenation of leading cadres. The plenum charted a clear course in precisely this direction. On its final day it ratified the make-up of the Commission to Transform the LCY, headed by S. Suvar. Within 6 weeks the commission will draw up recommendations for renewing one-third of all leading central and local party organs. The commission's activities, its chairman said, should not be seen as a "great purge" of the party, ridding it of undesirables or punishing people. It is a question of creating a combat-capable party apparatus with the active involvement of young cadres who think in the new way. It is proposed that people simultaneously carrying out state functions or occupying high positions in other sociopolitical organizations will be expelled from the Central Committee and from republic and provincial party committees.

The LCY is entering a new phase in its activity: It is moving from long discussions about the essence of problems to actually resolving them. The success of this immense work will depend on the extent to which the LCY Central Committee Presidium manages to retain and strengthen the unity achieved at the plenum and to reinforce at all levels of the party leadership the recognized need for a pan-Yugoslav approach to the resolution of any problem....

Solovyev Meets Bulgarian Delegation

PM2110094188 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 p 1

[LENTASS report: "In the Interests of Mutually Advantageous Cooperation"]

[Text] In the Smolnyy Institute yesterday Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad party Gorkom, received a government delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria headed by Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of foreign economic relations, which has arrived in our city.

A friendly talk took place on the activity of the two countries' party, state, and economic organs under the conditions of restructuring. Yu.F. Solovyev stressed that the renewal processes which are gathering momentum in all spheres of the fraternal people's lives create a favorable atmosphere for the development of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation. He informed the guests of the work which the Leningrad party organization is performing to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the party Central Committee July (1988) PLenum. Yu.F. Solovyev described in detail the restructuring of the activity of the CPSU obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms and the party organs' assimilation of political methods of leadership. It is very important that the paths for further headway in the interests of socialism should be guided by the party with a consideration for the pluralism of ideas and opinions. In seeking to resolve the most important socioeconomic tasks determining the population's living standard, the party committees have focused special attention on problems of the comprehensive development of the city on the Neva and the entire region, which has a large industrial, scientific, and cultural potential.

Questions of the radical economic reform and the experience of the transfer of enterprises to full economic accountability [khozraschet], self recoupment, and self financing were covered. Here note was taken of the course steered toward intensifying the local soviets' economic independence, intensifying their influence and responsibility for the development of the territories under their jurisdiction. It was pointed out that the Leningrad region's national economic complex is developing steadily and the main economic indicators are at the level envisaged by the 5-year plan control figures. The increase in the pace and volumes of production is proceeding together with an improvement in the quality of the output produced. Great efforts are being made to improve the mechanism of the labor collectives' economic interest in improving work.

Speaking of the prospects for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, Yu.F. Solovyev stressed the mutual interest in stepping up collaboration in all spheres. This desire fully accords with the long-term program for the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria for the period through 2000.

Yu.F. Solovyev dwelled in particular on Leningrad's friendly ties with its twin city, Plovdiv. Recently, with the broad participation of the two twinned cities' party organizations, there has been marked headway in cultural, scientific and technical, and production contacts. Progressive forms of production sharing ties such as the creation of joint enterprises and temporary scientific and technical creative collectives and laboratories and the entry onto the markets of third countries with jointly produced competitive output are being asserted. Direct trade exchange is being set up between trade organizations and contacts are growing in the field of health, culture, and tourism. The firm conviction was expressed that these processes will be actively deepened and acquire new dynamism.

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of foreign economic relations, described the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria and the state and prospects of the development of the republic's national economy. The BCP is the leader and guarantor of revolutionary transformations in Bulgaria, he noted. The minister stressed that Bulgaria assesses highly the initiative of Leningrad and Plovdiv in developing multifaceted collaboration. But the potential for scientific and technical ties between the two countries is still not being fully used. The fundamental coincidence of goals and tasks in renewing society opens up new opportunities for expanding Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation at all levels. A suggestion was made regarding the need to create a joint consultative and mediation bureau on an economically accountable basis to render aid to cooperating labor collectives and select new partners.

G.A. Bukin, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom, and other officials were present at the talk.

Ekaterina Yakoba Marinova, Bulgarian general consul in Leningrad, was present at the talk.

The Bulgarian Government delegation visited the "Energomash" intersectorial state association and the "Izhorskiy zavod" association and laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin monument at the Smolnyy and the monument to the heroic defenders of Leningrad on Victory Square.

The delegation left for Moscow yesterday.

Bulgaria's Zhivkov Receives Solovyev

LD2010175688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1614 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, 20 Oct (TASS)—Today T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of State of the

People's Republic of Bulgaria, received Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Leningrad obkom, who is in Bulgaria on a friendly visit as head of a delegation from the Leningrad party organization.

In the course of the conversation that took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere, there was an exchange of information on the course of the implementation of the decisions made by the congresses of the fraternal parties, the 19th All-Union CPSU Congress and the national Conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party, aimed at reviving all spheres of social life. The Bulgarian leader dwelt on the major tasks that the communists, the Bulgarian working people, are tackling to improve the political, economic, and management structures, and production and social relations in society. He stressed that the restructuring processes in both countries, which have common aims and tasks are opening up extensive possibilities for the development of fruitful Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation, the drawing together of the two fraternal peoples, including along the line of twinned ties as well, which should be filled with new content.

Yu.F. Solovyev noted that Soviet people are following with great attention the transformations called upon to renew socialism on Bulgarian soil. The experience of work gained by party organizations, local people's soviets, and working collectives of the fraternal countries in the new conditions is our common property which should be used in every possible way in practical work. In this context the ties between twinned towns—Leningrad and Plovdiv—were examined and the implementation of a joint program of development of scientific and technical progress, which corresponds to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

The first secretary of the Leningrad obkom spoke about the organizational work of the CPSU being conducted in the country to improve the political structure of Soviet society, to deepen radical economic reform and to expand the rights and heighten the responsibility of the local soviets of workers deputies.

Touching on a number of international problems, T. Zhivkov stressed that the Bulgarian people completely approves of the humane, peace-loving policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state which is a direct reflection of restructuring, of the new political thinking.

Soviet-Bulgarian Local CP Cooperation Discussed

PM2010153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Rudenko report: "Direct Contacts"]

[Text] A scientific-practical conference of representatives of the Soviet and Bulgarian communist parties on questions of improving cooperation in the sphere of local party organs has been held at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. The speakers included D. Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and G.S. Ostroumov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department.

As the reports noted, relations between the two fraternal parties have reached a qualitatively new stage. This is connected with the restructuring in the Soviet Union and the equivalent process in Bulgaria.

Until quite recently the quantitative approach and emotional views predominated the evaluation of cooperation among local party organizations. Now they are being replaced by businesslike forms of contact. Great hopes are pinned on medium- and long-term agreements on direct ties in the sphere of local party organs. A particularly large number of such agreements have been signed in the past 2 years. In the speakers' opinions, organizations should be free to choose their own partners.

Local party organizations already have the opportunity to conclude cooperation contracts. However, they do not take advantage of that opportunity often: Sometimes the problem is a lack of the simplest information and a shortage of specialists.

In those places where these obstacles are being surmounted the volumes of trade exchange between Bulgaria and the USSR are growing year by year, direct-sale stores are opening, and noncurrency (clearing) deals are being concluded....

Razumovskiy Meets With Hungary's Lukacs

PM2010151788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met 19 October with J. Lukacs, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, who is visiting Moscow. There was a comradely exchange of opinions on questions of improving the activity of the CPSU and the MSZMP in conditions of restructuring in accordance with the tasks raised by the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the Hungarian national party conference. Questions of international cooperation and the development of local ties were also raised.

J. Barabas, Hungarian charge d'affaires in the USSR, was present during the conversation.

Joint Military Exercise in Hungary Ends

LD2010180288 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—The USSR's Southern Group of troops and the Hungarian People's army in an exercise that ended here today mastered management of and interaction among various services.

In the assessment of the command, the military exercise was instructive and showed the enhanced level of the troops' combat training.

The objectives of the exercise have been attained. The troops which were involved are returning to their barracks.

In keeping with the Stockholm conference document, the exercise was watched by observers from several states participants in the Conference on Security and cooperation in Europe.

West Europe

Reportage on Visit by Italy's De Mita

Gorbachev Remarks Reported

PM2110092088 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 15 Oct 88 p3

[Paolo Garimberti dispatch: "'Gorbachev? He Has Won'"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—Ciriaco De Mita emerged from almost 2 hours of one-on-one talks with Mikhail Gorbachev with the conviction that the political struggle in the Kremlin leadership is over, "because he has already won it", though the Soviet leader now has to engage in the toughest battle—that to reconcile his grand political blueprint for reform with an economic and social situation of profound crisis permeated with very strong tensions. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev's reply to De Mita's questions was clear and apparently very sincere: "If this were nothing more than a power struggle it would already be over and everything would remain as before. In fact we really want to change this country, but to achieve real and thorough changes it was necessary, first, to alter the political framework." With a lighthearted remark that nevertheless seems to reflect the Soviet situation, he added: "Whether we are talking about restructuring or the Christian Democratic Party, the only way to govern is to be at the Center." Becoming serious again, he continued: "The time for debates and roundtables is over for us. The time has come to go into action, and everyone must realize this."

According to De Mita, Gorbachev therefore deserves to be granted both political and economic credit, though at yesterday evening's encounter with journalists the prime minister made a point of saying: "I disagree with the pessimists who argue that the reform cannot succeed because it lacks a model and even a culture to serve as reference points. However, I also disagree with the optimists who believe that the changes that have already occurred are enough to suggest that everything will go well. Only events will make it possible to judge."

Last night, however, the unanimous opinion of the Italian Government delegation was that the West, and especially Europe, must not remain passive observers of this difficult, sometimes dramatic, and in any case still uncertain attempt to reform a system that seemed frozen for 70 years. Foreign Minister Andreotti strongly reaffirmed to this view when he said that his meeting with Shevardnadze confirmed the Soviet willingness to engage before the end of the year in further negotiations on reducing conventional weapons in Europe.

According to Andreotti the Vienna conference, which has been going on for 18 months, should end with a grand meeting of foreign ministers to agree on the early opening of another conference. Shevardnadze repeated to Andreotti the substance of his announcement in Paris a few days ago: The USSR is withdrawing its demand that the final agreement of the Vienna negotiations include tactical bombers and other dual purpose (nuclear and conventional) weapons, thus removing the main obstacle that has hindered the negotiations hitherto. However, Andreotti added, the Soviet foreign minister also said he agreed to accelerate the negotiations for a total ban on chemical weapons as much as possible. [passage omitted]

Following his meeting with Gorbachev De Mita said yesterday: "What is at stake is a different kind of future, primarily for Europe. It is essential to regain the political initiative, in which Europe has hitherto shown itself to be lacking. This recovery must be qualitatively different at this time when the Soviet Union is willing to build very different balances of peace from in the past. I believe that this process can create opportunities and, I would say, economic advantages that West Europe is much better placed to exploit—if only for geographical reasons—than the United States and Japan."

Gorbachev entirely agreed with this analysis—to the extent that at one point in the meeting he said: "We are so much on the same wavelength that our respective documents would seem to have been drafted by the same offices." However, this agreement does not mean that Gorbachev feels bound by a special relationship with Italy or the other European countries. With great pragmatism, he will address whichever of the major industrial powers is most willing to support—economically, technologically, and even politically—his tremendous effort to change the USSR's image as an "underdeveloped superpower."

Andreotti Cited on De Mita Visit

LD1910082988 Moscow International Service in Italian 2000 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] The TASS correspondent reports from Italy: Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti has stressed the importance of the results achieved during Prime Minister De Mita's visit to the USSR. In a speech to parliament, Andreotti also noted that in his view the new international situation could see the beginning of the practical implementation of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles which was signed in Washington on 8 December.

Minister Andreotti said that the visit by Soviet inspectors to the Comiso missile base on 25-29 August represented a jump in quality in the search for greater stability and strengthening of mutual trust. Furthermore, Andreotti noted the need to quickly conclude the negotiations on chemical weapons. Now all the preliminary conditions are there to set concrete dates for the negotiations on conventional weapons in Europe. Italy believes that such negotiations could be completed within a year. At the same time, Andreotti spoke in favor of NATO's decision, which was approved by Rome's government, on the transfer of 72 U.S. fighter bombers which are expected to leave Spain for Italy.

Parliamentarians Welcome Soviet Stances

PM2110094788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent N. Miroshnik dispatch: "Positive Assessment"]

[Text] Rome, 19 Oct—The Soviet leadership is ready to hold "frank, unconstrained dialogue in an awareness both of the difficulties facing them and also of the fact that the international atmosphere could facilitate the implementation of its plans," Italian Foreign Minister G. Andreotti said when speaking at the national parliament Chamber of Deputies' Foreign Affairs Commission. With reference to the idea of creating an "all-European home," the minister noted that "that home still has to be built." However, we may have created certain preconditions for this by effecting a turn in East-West relations.

Talking about the possibilities for disarmament, the foreign minister stated that "in view of the Soviet side's agreement" he has grounds for hoping that the talks on balancing and reducing conventional arms in Europe may be completed within a year.

G. Andreotti also touched on the prospects for settling the Near East problem and expressed the hope that after the upcoming elections in Israel and the United States "the realization that there is no alternative will lead to an improvement in the current stagnant situation via talks within the framework of an international conference under UN auspices." The idea of convening such a conference, the Italian minister stressed, has already won broad, although still inadequate support.

Speaking after this within the framework of a debate in the foreign affairs commission, G.C. Pajetta, member of the Italian Communist Party Directorate, noted in particular that Italian Prime Minister C. De Mita's recent visit to Moscow made a "positive contribution to the development of dialogue and detente and also to the cause of strengthening economic relations in both countries' interests." A. Rubbi, another member of the commission who is also a member of the Italian Communist Party Directorate, in turn called for the attainment of agreements to promote the process of a balanced reduction in conventional arms so as to avoid the proposed redeployment to Italy of the U.S. F-16 fighter bombers that are being moved out of Spain.

FRG's Kohl Profiled on Eve of Visit

PM1910154388 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Oct 88 p 14

[Anatoliy Frenkin "Political Portrait": "The Helmut Kohl Effect"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] I will not forget how during our first conversation in spring 1981 H. Kohl insisted that, if he became chancellor, relations between the FRG and the USSR would improve considerably. Why? Well, because—the chairman of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] claimed—it is easier for a conservative FRG government than for the Social Democrats to develop relations with the USSR because the former does not have to justify such an action in front of anyone.

An interesting thought. So to whom do the conservatives have to justify themselves and for what? They have to render account to the right wing. They have to prove that by developing relations with the USSR they themselves have not become "red" or even "pink."

However, "deideologization" cannot, of course, be applied in only one direction, in only one sphere of policy. And this is what is manifest in all Kohl's activities in the FRG chancellorship. His first step in this direction was his handshake with the President of France at Verdun, intended, according to the chancellor's intentions, to set a seal on past disagreements ensuing from World War I. However, it proved considerably more difficult to "heal" the much deeper wounds of World War II in the same way. Nonetheless, the chancellor insisted with characteristic stubborness on the idea of an FRG-U.S. ceremony of "reconciliation" in Bitburg. Earlier, during a visit of the site of the former Bergen-Belsen Nazi concentration camp H. Kohl mentioned the prisoners from other countries who perished there. Then he went on to the military cemetery in Bitburg where those who served in the SS troops are buried. Why did the chancellor insist on this, disregarding protests in the FRG and elsewhere in the world? "He was particularly afraid of incurring the wrath of former German soldiers and their families if he gave up the idea of that visit," one of the chancellor's Bonn biographers explains. And H. Kohl went the whole way. He rang up Reagan and persuaded him to abandon his misgivings and take part in the ceremony.

It is said of the chancellor that he is a "generalist" in view of the "general" nature of his knowledge and lack of expertise in any specific field. Incidentally, he always wanted to be head of government, never a minister. However, his habit of judging matters only in "general terms" without entering into details, given Kohl's tremendous self-confidence, leads him to ignore details which are sometimes quite significant. One cannot help recalling that it was J. Steinhof, Goering's second "ace," who was decorated with the highest awards of the Nazi Reich and who subsequently made it to Bundeswehr inspector general, who was chosen to accompany the chancellor and lay a wreath at the cemetery in Bitburg on behalf of the Bundeswehr.

Bitburg showed that it is not enough to denounce Nazism in "general terms" and that any reference to the theme of Nazi Germany's crimes calls for a high sense of responsibility on the part of any FRG politician.

The oaths of loyalty to the United States which the chancellor has kept voicing have sounded like a repeated prayer. However, years passed and the FRG became involved in the adventurist U.S. SDI plans. In the turbulent summer of 1987 during the decisive stages of the preparation of the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles in Europe H. Kohl found both the ability to assess the international situation realistically and the determination to overcome right-wing pressure. The chancellor withdrew the question of the Pershing 1-A missiles, and his contribution to the drafting of the historic agreement went neither unnoticed nor unappreciated.

Relations with the Soviet Union remain a difficult subject for H. Kohl. In personal conversations H. Kohl has invariably repeated that he wholeheartedly favors cooperation with the Soviet Union. He has even read the Russian classics. In 1975 H. Kohl visited the Soviet Union for the first time. Even then he professed his loyalty to the "Eastern Treaties." His biographers recall that during the stormy debate on these treaties in the Bundestag H. Kohl, following the advice of his friend R. von Weizsaecker, did not side with the opponents of these treaties.

At present certain circles in the United States, Britain, and France are clearly afraid of the emerging signs of improved FRG-USSR relations and are trying to thwart the process. There are rumors that a negative and even hostile attitude to H. Kohl prevails in the Soviet Union. Jean-Paul Picaper, Bonn correspondent of the Paris newspaper LE FIGARO, even launched the following canard. He claims that a secret decision to "dethrone" H. Kohl as a personality has been adopted in the Soviet Union. How? By presenting a caricature to the Germans in the FRG depicting him him as a... pear. The LE FIGARO correspondent even cites the number of a "directive to this effect from the Lubyanka": No. 2876b, with the cipher "D-L-F." And he decodes it: The procedure to be used is the same as the artist Daumier employed against Louis-Philippe a century and a half ago. It is alleged that we have supplied the pear-shape caricature to liberal magazines in the FRG...

This absurdity is best thrown back at its authors: None other than Picaper has drawn H. Kohl as an elephant. The FRG federal chancellor's honor has never been encroached on in any way in our news media. As distinct from the West, where both carricatures of and anecdotes about Kohl are published...

Will Kohl be able to "better" Adenauer and pull off a politically more significant visit to Moscow than his predecessor in 1955? The chancellor himself wants the visit to be fruitful, and informed people in Bonn say even "historic." Well, let us wish him luck...

FRG's Bangemann on Joint Enterprise Prospects

PM1910100388 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 42, Oct 88 (Signed to Press 13 Oct 88) Special "Federal Republic of Germany" Supplement pp 3, 5

[Article by FRG Federal Minister of Economics Doctor Martin Bangemann: "To Develop and Strengthen Cooperation"]

[Text] Economic cooperation between the FRG and the Soviet Union makes an important contribution to the cause of easing international tension and the strengthening of trust and stability in our political relations, regardless of differences in economic and political systems. The further development of economic ties and especially the expansion of the Soviet Union's and other CEMA states' participation in the world economy are therefore in line with the interests of both East and West. The federal government intends to persevere in its efforts aimed at expanding economic and technological cooperation wherever and whenever it meets mutual interests. Thus, there is great political interest in the expansion of our economic relations. At the same time, whenever the question of the economy is raised, there must be a sober assessment of the situation based on facts rather than illusions. Commodity turnover between the FRG and the Soviet Union in 1987 was again cut back by 20 percent compared with the previous year. Consequently, the Soviet Union accounted for only about 35 percent of the FRG's trade with East European countries, and its share in the FRG's total volume of foreign trade fell to less than 2 percent.

I do not intend to dwell especially on the causes of the cutbacks in bilateral trade. I will only note that the enhancement of the Soviet economy's efficiency is in line with our fundamental interests. Any long-term growth in reciprocal commodity turnover, including an expansion of imports from the FRG, is possible only on the basis of enhanced competitiveness of output and growth of your export potential.

The enhancement of the Soviet economy's efficiency demands primarily efforts by your country's enterprises themselves. As far as the Western partners are concerned, our expectations are linked primarily with the implementation of political and economic reforms in the USSR. Numerous important decisions have already been made in the economic sphere. We welcome them and wish you success in the implementation of reforms. Experience shows, however, that positive changes in foreign trade can be effected only after certain time has elapsed.

The last session of the FRG and Soviet Union Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, held in Moscow last May, emphasized that expectations in the Soviet Union are linked to intensification of bilateral cooperation in the industrial sphere. Conditions for this are as favorable as ever. For example, around 30 projects were being implemented in the sphere of production sharing. This trend is growing stronger.

The key words—"joint enterprises"—acquire an almost magical importance in this context. Now the Soviet Union is also interested in this supreme form of industrial production sharing. Some 20 such enterprises have been set up with FRG firms, one-half of them being in the machine building sphere.

Unresolved problems still exist as regards the question of joint enterprises. We are talking, for example, about component deliveries that are inadequate in quantity and quality, about limited opportunities for travel, adverse conditions for enterprises' work, and pressure in favor of barter deals. Despite all this, we are in favor of the large-scale establishment of joint enterprises because this is in line with the wishes of FRG enterprises.

It is only natural that West German firms should thoroughly study the opportunities for successful implementation of projects and take into account the acutely competitive struggle being waged to attract capital investments in the world market. Every enterprise strives to pick the best conditions for its capital investment abroad and painstakingly chooses potential partners for joint ventures. The federal government cannot and does not wish to influence the choices made by FRG firms when it comes to channeling their capital investments.

In this context, the setting up of consortiums to implement major complex projects could pave the way for further development of cooperation. For example, the plan for developing ore extraction in the Kola Peninsula reflects the Soviet Union's interest in attracting technology and also in acquiring up-to-date experience in the sphere of enterprise management and finance.

The broad range of opportunities for economic collaboration shows that both the Soviet Union and the FRG are extremely keen on expanding cooperation despite the existence of numerous obstacles. Both sides are convinced that economic cooperation will contribute to the cause of strengthening peace in Europe. The continuation and successful implementation of the reforms now under way are a prerequisite for successful economic cooperation. The enhancement of the Soviet economy's competitiveness, the improvement of conditions for operations by Western firms in the USSR, and the increased volume of information exchanges will substantially expand the prospects for growth of trade and industrial production sharing.

UK's Clark, Katushev Discuss Cooperation in London

LD1910110888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Our correspondent, Vsevolod Shishkovskiy, reports from London:

The latest session of the permanent intergovernmental Soviet-British commission on scientific, technical, trade, and economic cooperation has begun in the British capital. The Soviet delegation is headed by Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and Clark, the British trade minister heads the British delegation. The focus of attention at the session is the elaboration of specific measures aimed at intensifying and expanding the two countries's trade and economic cooperation. This question was also raised during a conversation between Margaret Thatcher and the head of the Soviet delegation, which took place at the British prime minister's residence, 10 Downing Street.

This is what Konstantin Fedorovich Katushev said in a conversation about this meeting:

[Begin recording] [Katushev] The conversation essentially touched upon all the problems in our relations. The prime minister was very interested in the course of the restructuring process and expressed solidarity with the fact that the Soviet leadership is concentrating primarily on solving social issues, affecting the life of Soviet people, and expressed her warmest wishes for the fulfillment of those tasks which we have set ourselves in restructuring. I think that we can expect practical results on the basis of agreements reached during the commission's work.

[Shishkovskiy] At the present time did you sense an interest in and desire to cooperate with us on the British side?

[Katushev] Yes I did sense this, both from British business people and from representatives of the British Government, Clark, the british minister for trade and his colleagues at the plenary meeting of the commission.

[Shishkovskiy] Proof of this interest is the businesslike and constructive atmosphere at the session of the joint commission. Specific projects and deals are being discussed at it, as well as the possibilities of setting up new joint enterprises and of expanding industrial cooperation. We can expect that in the next few months various goods and products with the mark—made in Britain—will appear in our shops. [end recording]

Latin American & Caribbean

Decree Adopted on Joining Panama Canal Treaty

LD2010105888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 20 Oct (TASS)—It is reported here today that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decree on the USSR joining the treaty on the permanent neutrality and exploitation of the Panama Canal of 7 September 1977.

Further Reportage on Visit by Brazil's Sarney

Meets With Gorbachev, Comments

PY1910013288 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2200 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Report with video clips from Moscow by correspondent Ernesto Paglia]

[Text] More than 20 million Soviet soldiers died in World War II. Many of them were never identified. The Brazilian president this morning paid tribute to these Soviet heroes. Accompanied by six of his ministers and members of his entourage, President Sarney laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin.

Later, President Sarney had his first meeting of the day with the man of restructuring, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The two chief executives conferred for 2 and ½ hours, discussing international politics, bilateral cooperation, and ways to overcome the barriers that have accumulated in recent years.

President Sarney explained the new Brazilian position toward the Soviets.

[Begin recording] [Paglia] Have we changed our diplomacy? Have we changed allies?

[Sarney] No, we have not changed allies. Brazil is today a great country and, regarding international policy, it cannot have either its interests or its foreign policy governed by ideological factors. We must defend our interests, our national interests anywhere in the world. [end recording]

This afternoon President Sarney visited the Moscow State University, one of the largest universities of the Soviet Union, and addressed some students. Here he also received an honorary doctorate degree. The university rector, Anatoliy Logunov, presented the degree to Sarney, who emphasized the need for peace and cooperation in the world.

At the Kremlin, President and Mrs Sarney attended a dinner hosted for them by the Gorbachevs. In greeting his guests, Gorbachev gave a long handshake to writer Jorge Amado and his wife Zelia Gattai. He gave an even longer greeting to Navy Minister Henrique Saboia and Army Minister Leonidas Pires Goncalves, as well as to Brazilian Communist Party President Roberto Freire.

Shortly before entering the banquet room, Gorbachev gave another sign of the cordial atmosphere surrounding this visit.

[Begin recording] [Paglia, in Portuguese followed by interpreter translating into Russian] Mr Gorbachev, what is the future of the relations and the friendship between Brazil and the Soviet Union? [Unidentified interpreter translates question from Portuguese into Russian]

[Gorbachev, in Russian followed by translation into Portuguese] I would say that after evaluating Soviet-Brazilian relations, we have reached the conclusion that we have a great future for developing our relations. I believe your president agrees with me.

[Sarney] I already conveyed through the Brazilian television to the Brazilian people that Brazilian-Soviet relations are extremely complex [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Sarney and Gorbachev will hold their fourth meeting tomorrow. This will be their last working meeting, and they will sign the most important political document of this visit. At the end of the meeting, the two leaders will sign a joint declaration to define the future—the rules that will govern Brazilian-Soviet diplomatic relations in the future. Important economic results stemming from this visit will also be announced tomorrow.

Interviewed on Visit

LD2010232988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2025 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Interview with Jose Sarney, president of the Federative Republic of Brazil, by unidentified interviewer in Moscow; date not given—live or recorded in Portuguese with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpts] [Interviewer] First of all, permit me to thank you, Mr President, for your agreement to give this interview to Soviet television—incidentally, it is the first interview which a president of Brazil has given in Moscow. [passage omitted]

Could you tell us what your great country has to offer ours in the sphere of trade? I should like to explain this question a little: The thing is that we Soviet people, our country's public opinion, are not totally satisfied with the development of Soviet-Brazilian trade; we believe that it could develop much more successfully; we suspect that the representatives of our foreign trade departments have not always been up to the mark in this area in recent years. In your opinion, Mr President, what is needed for Soviet-Brazilian trade to develop more successfully in the future than hitherto?

[Sarney] I think that the dissatisfaction about which you have spoken is felt not only in your country. We Brazilians have the very same feelings. We believe that we simply cannot maintain our trade relations with such a great country as yours, with such a truly outstanding world power, at the previous level, which was so limited. We must expand our ties to the greatest degree. And there are truly unlimited opportunities for expanding them.

At this very time we in Brazil are beginning a new stage of our economic policy. We are making it more open, we shall be expanding our imports, and we should like our foreign trade relations with the Soviet Union always to be balanced. We cannot reconcile ourselves to a situation where, say, Brazil exports to the Soviet Union a limited range of very primitive products from its export trade and the Soviet Union supplies us, in the main, with oil. We should like to set up a truly broad trade exchange between two truly solid partners; and this can be done, taking account of the opportunities which exist now and our desires. I believe that the level which our political relations have reached can now ensure—and there is no doubt about this—the necessary scope for our trade ties.

[Interviewer] During your stay in Moscow, Mr President, you had several meetings with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and important documents were signed. Could you tell us, in this regard, about the significance of those talks and those documents for the further development of Soviet-Brazilian relations?

[Sarney] Yes, we did indeed sign very important documents. I would describe the Declaration on Principles for Interaction in the Name of Peace and International Cooperation, which President Gorbachev and I signed, as the first among them. It defines the political principles for the development of our relations. I believe that that declaration goes far beyond the limits of Soviet-Brazilian relations alone. I think that it could serve as a kind of model for the relations which are taking shape between countries of the East and the South. That declaration contains many very important provisions, which were produced in the process of joint work: for example, the principles of self-determination, the need for the peaceful use of space, respect for the independence of developing countries, and the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts. In a word, it is a very important declaration. I consider it a great step forward in our relations. We also signed trade agreements, documents on financing mutual supplies, on scientific and technical cooperation, on cultural ties, on improving further diplomatic relations between our countries, and, in particular, on opening respective consultates—a Soviet one in Rio de Janeiro and a Brazilian one in Leningrad.

In a word, I believe that my visit to the USSR was very fruitful and successful, especially if we take into account the fact that we had the opportunity to converse in detail and for a long time with Gorbachev. They were very long and fruitful conversations, both privately and with the participation of the ministers and the other members of our delegation. I want to note, especially, that during my personal conversations with Gorbachev I had the opportunity to sense and to feel the warmth of contact with this outstanding figure and to become acquainted with his wife. We came to the common conclusion that relations between our countries will rise henceforth to a fundamentally new height.

[Interviewer] After your return to your homeland, Mr President, I think that you will time and again recall our country and talk about it to your family and friends. I should like to find out what you will talk about first and foremost, and most of all, there in Brazil, when you are questioned about the Soviet country.

[Sarney] [Passage omitted] The present stage you are living through is especially significant: a stage of constructive creativity and of new thinking, as President Gorbachev likes to say. It is a stage when the Soviet Union is beginning a process of renewal and opening up horizons for the future and, at the same time, not forgetting its past. The USSR is demonstrating its abilities to solve the most complicated problems with that feeling of responsibility which is characteristic of truly great powers.

I think that I shall retain in my memory and shall take back to my country with me a feeling of astonishment as well: I was simply struck by the enormous interest which Soviet people are demonstrating in our country. We were delighted by your hospitality and are taking home with us memories of your great people, who have not only demonstrated an interest in us, but have aroused in us great interest in your country and a deep emotional unity. I would even say they have strengthened the long-standing bridge of our friendship, which has now become permanent.

[Interviewer] Mr President, I thank you for this interview and want to express the hope that the final part of your visit, here in Moscow and in Leningrad, will also be pleasant for you. Permit me to wish you a happy return to your great homeland.

[Sarney] I should like to use this opportunity to address the Soviet people and to recall once more: We have come to you on a mission of friendship. The Brazilian people greet you, the Soviet people, ardently. Thank you.

Appointment of Military Attaches Agreed

PY2010212088 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 20 Oct 88 p 2

[Excerpt] Moscow—The Government of Brazil and the Soviet Union yesterday agreed to appoint military attaches to their respective embassies. This matter has been discussed by diplomatic officials over the past few months.

According to Bayma Denys, chief of the Military Household, there are still some details to be ironed out, such as the tenure of the attaches in each country, and whether the three services will be represented in Moscow and Brasilia. The foreign ministers of the two countries will decide on these two matters. [passage omitted]

Visit to Bolshoy Theater

PM2010152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Getting to Know Moscow"]

[Text] Marly Macieira Sarney, wife of the president of Brazil, continued her tour of Moscow's sights on 19 October.

In the company of R.M. Gorbacheva she went to the Bolshoy Theater.

The guest was acquainted with the history of this world-famous theater, founded more than 200 years ago, and the creative work of its company, which numbers over 1,000 members of the opera, ballet, chorus, orchestra, and mime troupe. This season the theater is presenting more than 50 performances of ballet and opera including both foreign and national classics. Spectators from many countries, including Brazil, have applauded the artistry of the Bolshoy.

R.M. Gorbacheva and M.M. Sarney had a warm meeting on the main stage with artists of the Dnepropetrovsk opera and ballet theater, which is on tour in Moscow. A routine orchestral rehearsal was held at this time.

"It has been my cherished dream to visit the Bolshoy," M.M. Sarney said. "I am happy to have seen this world-famous theater in the company of R.M. Gorbacheva. We will welcome new tours by its company in Brazil."

As a souvenir M.S. Sarney was presented with an album about the theater and ballet shoes autographed by Soviet ballet stars.

R.M. Gorbacheva bade the guest a warm farewell and expressed the hope that her visit to the Bolshoy will promote the further expansion of cultural cooperation between the two countries and the strengthening of friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of the USSR and Brazil.

Sarney Departs Moscow

LD2010084588 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT 20 Oct 88

["Brazilian President Flies to Leningrad"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Brazilian President Jose Sarney flew from Moscow to Leningrad today after a farewell ceremony in the morning at St. George's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and his wife warmly bid farewell to Sarney and his wife.

A procession of cars with a motorcycle escort then sped to the airport.

The national colors of Brazil and the USSR were flying in the streets through which the cars passed.

Arrives in Leningrad

LD2010110988 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Leningrad October 20 TASS—President Jose Sarney of the Federative Republic of Brazil, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, arrived in Leningrad from Moscow today.

Jose Sarney and his wife were welcomed at the airport by Leningrad Mayor Vladimir Khodyrev and his wife, and other officials.

Chilean Government Tenders Resignation

LD2110031588 Moscow TASS in English 2100 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 20 (TASS)—The Chilean Government formed by Augusto Pinochet tendered its resignation today. According to American news agencies, this was announced by Orlando Poblete, general secretary of the government. He said that he and another 15 members of the Cabinet had taken this decision with a view to giving a free hand to Pinochet.

This is the second time in the past two weeks that a Chilean Government tendered its resignation. For the first time this happened on the next day after a nationwide plebiscite held in Chile on October 5 at which the majority of the population turned down the candidature of Pinochet for another presidential term. However, that time the dictator did not accept the resigantion.

The opposition forces that won a victory during the plebiscite demanded the immediate resignation of Pinochet and his government and the creation of conditions needed for the holding in Chile of truly free and democratic elections which would put an end to the dictatorial rule.

Political & Social

Kapto Named To Head Ideological Department

LD2010142688 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Doctor of Philosophy Aleksandr Kapto, 55, was appointed head of the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

A graduate of Dnepropetrovsk State University, Aleksandr Kapto worked at the youth newspaper more than 10 years and then worked in the Komsomol. Since 1972 Aleksandr Kapto held party posts, at first in the Kiev region, then in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. He held the post of a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Aleksandr Kapto was Soviet ambassador to Cuba in 1986-88.

Bakatin Appointed New Interior Minister

LD2010184288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin as USSR minister of internal affairs.

Biography Reported

LD2010201788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] [Announcer] I can acquaint you with the new USSR minister of internal affairs appointed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Vadim Viktorich Bakatin is 51 and has been a member of the CPSU since 1964. He obtained higher education and worked in construction organizations. Over the last 15 years he has been engaged in party work. Since 1987 he has been first secretary of Kemerovo Obkom. Vadim Viktorovich is a member of the CPSU Central Committee and a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is the information we have received in connection with the appointment of the USSR minister of internal affairs.

Songayla Retires; Replaced by Brazauskas

LD2010191788 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Vilnius October 20 TASS—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania at its plenary meeting today elected Algirdas Brazauskas first secretary of the Central Committee.

His predecessor, Ringaudas Songayla, who had held the post from 1987, retired.

Brazauskas, 56, an engineer by training, holds a scientific degree of candidate of economics. He is known in Lithuania as a "strategist of the new."

A graduate of the Kaunas Polytechnic, he has proved to be a sincere advocate of change, working in Lithuania's power engineering construction projects and holding the posts of minister for building materials, first deputy chairman of the Planning Committee and secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee over the past 11 years.

Brazauskas has been a deputy of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet (Parliament) since 1967.

The new party leader is a communicative, vigorous person. He prefers listening to his interlocutor, and does not like to boss around, opting instead in favour of logic and argumentation to convince people.

People with initiative enjoy his support.

Brazauskas is fond of hunting, sailing and walking in the woods.

His wife and one daughter are physicians, the other daughter is an art critic. He has four grandchildren.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo Meets 20 Oct

PM2110101788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo: At its meeting 20 October the CPSU Central Committee Politburo reviewed and approved the draft state plan for economic and social development and the draft state budget of the USSR for 1989. The two drafts were finalized by the government, taking into consideration the observations and suggestions expressed during the discussion at the 6 October meeting of the Politburo and also during the refining of the budget plan in the permanent commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The CPSU Central Committee's slogans for the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution were affirmed. The text of the slogans will be published in the press.

The Central Committeee Politburo reviewed the USSR Council of Ministers' preparation of a draft USSR law concerning the activity of inventors in the USSR. In this connection it was noted that current legislation in the sphere of inventions does not ensure that enterprise and labor collectives have an economic interest in galvanizing the creative potential of inventors and in marketing the developments made by them. This hinders the widescale use of the newest achievements of science and technology in the national economy and does not allow the realization of the huge possibilities of scientific-technical progress, an important part of which is the activity of inventors.

The new draft law will take into consideration the need for increasing the legal protection of inventors' rights and strengthening his social status in society. The adoption of the law will be an important step in consolidating the principles of financial autonomy in the country's economy and will help to raise the efficiency of the contribution of scientists, engineering and technical workers, and production innovators to solving the priority tasks of speeding up society's socioeconomic development. The draft law will be submitted in the near future in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium so that it may subsequently be widely discussed by the Soviet public.

Having listened to information about the progress in preparing the draft bases of criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics, the Politburo recommended that, after the appropriate finalizing work has been completed, this bill should be published in the press for discussion.

The Politburo discussed the appeal to the CPSU Central Committee from the USSR Union of Writers and the Leningrad party obkom to rescind the 14 August 1946 decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on the magazines ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD. It was noted that the decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) distorted the Leninist principles of work with the artistic intelligentsia and that eminent Soviet writers had been subjected to unjustified crude denigration.

The policy being conducted in the sphere of literature and art by the party in the conditions of revolutionary restructuring has virtually repudiated and overcome these tenets and conclusions. The good name of eminent writers has been restored and their works have been returned to the Soviet reader.

The Politburo rescinded the decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) about the magazines ZVEZDA AND LENINGRAD as mistaken.

The Central Committee Politburo supported the proposal from the government, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, and the board of the Soviet Peace Fund to set up centers to restore the health and social and labor activity of internationalist servicemen. Servicemen who have suffered as a result of combat operations will be given more effective medical, sanatorium, and resort and other forms of service in these centers in order to return them very rapidly to labor and social activity.

As a supplement to the decision made earlier, another four of these centers are to be opened next March; these are being set up on the basis of existing sanatorium facilities—the Baykal and Kuban Sanatoriums in the RSFSR, the "Kasansayskiy" Sanatorium in the Uzbek SSR, and the Dneprovskiy Hotel in the Ukrainian SSR. Two more new restorative centers will be built in the RSFSR and Uzbekistan in 1989-93 as well.

The Politburo discussed the results of the talks and meetings which Comrades Gorbachev and Ryzhkov had with Italian Prime Minister De Mita and with ministers and representatives of Italian business circles. It was stated with satisfaction that the talks have deepened the realistic and respectful dialogue between the two countries, opened a new stage in relations between them, and promoted the further development of Soviet-Italian trade and economic cooperation.

The proximity of the approaches and intentions of the two sides in the most varied spheres of international relations was noted. The visit to Moscow by the head of the Italian Government and the talks which took place confirm the very important role of the European factor in international affairs and promote the implementation of the principles of democratization of interstate relations.

There was discussion of the results of the talks and conversations between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Brazilian President Jose Sarney, which took place during Sarney's official visit to the USSR. This was a major and positive event in Soviet-Brazilian relations. It was stressed in this connection that the adoption of the joint declaration on the principles of cooperation on behalf of peace and international cooperation is a considerable contribution to the establishment of new forms of international contacts in contemporary conditions and enriches the experience of cooperation between states belonging to different sociopolitical systems. Confirmation was given of the USSR's principled course toward deepening all-around links with the Latin American countries in the interests of strengthening positive trends in the contemporary international situation and promoting firm peace and security. Specific intructions were given for the implementation in practice of the complex of accords adopted during the Brazilian president's visit.

A report was heard from Comrade Talyzin about the visit by a Soviet party-government delegation to the PDRY to take part in the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the 14 October revolution and the 10th anniversary of the formation of the Yemen Socialist Party. It was stressed at the session that the meetings and conversations which took place in Aden confirmed the mutual striving for further development and strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the parties and states.

The Politburo discussed the results of the official and friendly visit by Comrade Yazov to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It was noted that the talks with the Bulgarian party, state, and military leadership confirmed the full unanimity of views on questions of implementing in practice the provisions of the defensive military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states, of improving their cooperation in this sphere, and of ensuring the security of the socialist community.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo discussed other questions of our party's domestic and foreign policies.

CPSU Apparatus Restructuring Reviewed

AU1710160088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 88 p 7

[Lubor Kazda dispatch from Moscow: "The Party Ranks' Activity Is Growing; G. Kryuchkov on Annual Meetings and the Restructuring of the CPSU Apparatus"]

[Text] The first CPSU rayon and city conferences will start on Saturday [15 October]. The campaign of annual meetings is thereby entering another important stage. Annual meetings have already been held in most party groups and in the majority of workshop organizations. Approximately two-thirds of all primary party organizations had held their meetings by mid-October, said Georgiy Kryuchkov, deputy head of a CPSU Central Committee department, in Moscow on Thursday [13 October] at his meeting with correspondents from the fraternal socialist countries who are accredited in the Soviet capital.

He stressed that the campaign of annual membership meetings has a number of features that greatly distinguish it from similar campaigns in the past. For the first time in the history of the CPSU, the preparation of annual meetings has been guided by a special resolution of the CPSU Central Committee. Also for the first time, annual meetings are not taking place as a preparation for national sessions, as used to be the case prior to party congresses, but, conversely, they immediately follow up on the all-union party conference, whose conclusions are being discussed from the viewpoint of specific conditions and practical implementation. The chief aim of the annual meetings is to give a mighty boost to a wide-ranging democratization of party life, G. Kryuchkov emphasized.

He pointed out that in elections into party committees broad use is being made of the possibility of fielding more candidates than committee members. The use of the secret ballot, which the CPSU considers to be the most democratic method of election, has considerably expanded. The results of the course of the membership meetings thus far show that multicandidate elections are becoming routine. The number of leading party officials who have been elected from among several candidates reached 50.5 percent, compared with approximately 30 percent in the past. There are many CPSU raykom and gorkom secretaries who have been elected in this way, and there are also several examples of such elections at the level of secretaries of CPSU oblast committees, such as a recent case in Sakhalin. At the level of primary organizations 89,000 Communists have been recalled from the post of member of party committees, with 20,000 of them from the post of party committee chairman.

Another striking, novel feature of this year's campaign is the fact that, along with conference delegates, participants in annual membership meetings are also directly proposing candidates for functions in higher party bodies. In this context, commissions that draw up candidature proposals are acquitting themselves well; these commissions are elected at membership meetings prior to annual meetings. They collect Communists' proposals and views in advance and generally apply people's experiences and comments. The commissions complement these proposals with their own candidatures and submit these to the annual meeting for discussion.

In contrast to previously held campaigns, nonparty members are being invited to annual meetings on a large scale. Soviet television is preparing, among other things, a series of live relays directly from the proceedings of annual meetings.

Even now the campaign of annual membership meetings generally confirms that the activity of party ranks is growing, although its level is still not quite satisfactory. In spite of all the shortcomings that have surfaced in their course, the annual meetings show that they are a major step helping to translate the conclusions of the 19th all-union conference into life.

The annual meetings are taking place concurrently with the restructuring of the CPSU apparatus. The number of Central Committee departments is being reduced and their heads are currently being appointed. A. Kapto, for example, has been appointed head of the ideology department. In their work the newly established Central Committee commissions headed by Central Committee secretaries will rely on the support of the party structure and cadre policy department, the ideology department, the economic and social policy department, the state and legal department [statne pravni oddeleni], the agricultural policy department, and the international department. In addition, the Central Committee will have a general department. A similar structure will be introduced at lower levels, with raykoms having only two departments as a rule—an organizational and an ideological one. Furthermore, in large industrial centers there can be an economic and social development department and rural rayons can have their own agricultural departments. An important novelty is that the Central Committee approved a proposal for the general structure of oblast and kray committees and of the union republics' Central Committees, for whom it appropriates wage funds. All other questions, especially the "tabular specifications" of the apparatus, are fully within the sphere of competence of the relevant local party bodies. In Central Asia eight oblast committees have been abolished; in smaller cities, municipal district party committees are being abolished; and only party rayon committees are being retained in relatively smaller conurbations without a numerous city party organization. This concerns some 100 different localities, Kryuchkov said.

He mentioned, furthermore, that no decision has as yet been made on the method of activity of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and on steering its work, because this body has not yet had a meeting since the September CPSU Central Committee plenum. In this connection he referred to the speculations that have appeared in the Western press in connection with the absence of Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from some sessions of party and state agencies. Ligachev is on leave and the speculations are all out of place, Kryuchkov said. He added that henceforth Ligachev will deal with the supervision of agricultural policy, together with V. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Kryuchkov said that some of the employees being released will retire, probably including some who will only shortly reach retirement age. At the same time, the need to seek new forms of utilizing the valuable experience of people who are ending their active working lives but can and want to continue to be useful to the party is coming to the fore. A number of those currently employed in the party apparatus, where the party always concentrated experienced specialists and educated cadres, will be given an opportunity to hold responsible functions in state administration, for example, and elsewhere.

Academy of Sciences General Meeting Continues

PM2010145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Relying on Science. USSR Academy of Sciences General Meeting"]

[Text] The agenda of the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was devoted to scientists' tasks in the light of the 19th all-union party conference, was exciting for everyone. The second day of the session was no exception. The discussion of ways to make more effective use of science as a powerful tool of drawing up realistic assessments and forecasts of the economic and social renewal of society continued 19 October.

Immediately after the main report, delivered by the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the representatives of social sciences who delivered the coreports aired their views.

The essence of the problems submitted for discussion by Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, director of the State and Law Institute, can be reduced to a short formula. The political and legal reform, he said, will be effective provided it is based on science.

The speaker cited a number of examples to illustrate the effects of the practice of people's alienation from political life which took shape over decades and resulted in the stagnation of social life and serious mistakes being made in the adoption of a number of major state decisions in both domestic and foreign policy. Both science and practice, he said, are urgently raising the question not just of the long overdue democratization of legislative bodies, but essentially of the complete restructuring of their work. For instance, people have received with interest the announcement of the planned convocation of the congress of USSR people's deputies and the news that the USSR Supreme Soviet is to become a permanently functioning organ. However, serious scientific elaboration is necessary for this. It is also necessary to formulate the legal bases of the relations between the Supreme Soviet and the government which, the speaker noted, has essentially never accounted for its work to the representative organ.

When formulating the basic principles of the rule-of-law state, the academician stressed, science envisages the implementation of such principles as the supremacy of the law, responsibility not only of the citizen to the state but also of the state to the citizen, and a high level of people's social protection.

Academician Secretary A.G. Aganbegyan of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Department presented an analysis of the problems of the country's socioeconomic development in the 13th 5-Year Plan and the longer term in his coreport.

The scientist assessed from an economist's viewpoint the first results of the renewal in the national economy and social life. People see the real fruits of restructuring in spiritual life, in glasnost, and in the reinforcement of the democratic principles, he said. And this is a cause of joy. However, it is no secret either that so far there have been no clear advances in the economy, nor can they be expected while negative trends in its development persist.

It is from these positions, the speaker stressed, that the Academy of Sciences must approach the evaluation of ways to make people feel the returns as quickly as possible in such priority spheres of restructuring as housing, food supply, and consumer goods. In 1989, for instance, thanks to measures taken over the past 2 years it is planned for the first time in our practice to more than double the growth rate in the production of consumer goods. This can be regarded as the first breakthrough in the priority, preferential development of the industry of national prosperity.

During the debate that followed speakers touched upon a wide range of questions aimed at the more effective utilization of the Academy of Sciences' entire scientific potential. Attention, naturally, focused on problems of improved planning of scientific research. It was noted that this process must be endowed with the necessary flexibility and dynamism. Many scientists claimed, for instance, that the main precondition of success here would a precise policy of priorities.

At the same time a warning was heard during the debate that a balanced approach to the policy of priorities is needed since, in the absence of glasnost, trends toward monopolism or pseudoexpertise might arise, or rather repeat themselves.

There was a comprehensive discussion of questions of reinforcing science with young scientists, renewing the academy's leading cadres, and increasing the role of institute labor collectives in the formation of learned councils and shaping of the organizational structure of establishments.

The academy's general meeting continues.

Elections; Bukharin Reinstated

PM2110093988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "USSR Academy of Sciences' General Meeting Closes"]

[Text] A general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences devoted to the academy's tasks in the light of the 19th all-union party conference decisions has closed. The debate on the reports ended 20 October—a debate in the course of which academics comprehensively discussed the role and place of fundamental science in society. Today it is one of the factors actively affecting the progress of restructuring, an effective instrument for the elaboration of scientifically based recommendations, and the foundation for ensuring society's spiritual progress and raising the people's cultural and educational standards.

A decision adopted at the meeting devoted its main attention to overcoming obstacles in the way of enhancing the effectiveness of the country's research potential. The meeting set the representatives of social, natural, and technical sciences concrete tasks.

The general meeting voted unanimously to restore posthumously to N.I. Bukharin his title of academician.

At the final session elections were held for vacancies that have arisen and for one additional vice presidency of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Yu.A. Osipyan (physics), O.M. Nefedov (chemistry), R.V. Petrov (biology), N.V. Laverov (earth sciences), and V.N. Kudryavtsev (social sciences) were elected vice presidents of the academy.

Scientists elected at previous departmental general meetings were ratified as academician secretaries of USSR Academy of Sciences branches.

The membership of the academy's Presidium was also considerably renewed. Prominent scholars of countrywide standing were elected to the Presidium.

Reinstatement Praised

LD2010191288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] The general assembly of the USSR Academy of Sciences ended in Moscow today. At the final session the decision was made to posthumously reinstate Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin in his title of academician. Listen now to an interview with Academician Vladimir Nikolayevich Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

[Kudryavtsev] Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin was elected academician for the department of humanitarian sciences in January 1929, and from 1930 onward he was director of the Institute of the History of Science and Technology of the Academy of Sciences. In 1935 he was elected member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. During this perhaps short period he carried out a very great deal of work, being an academician and a member of the Presidium. He wrote a number of outstanding works on economics, on the history of natural science and technology, and even on literature and art, showed his worth as an energetic member of the Academy and, as an active person full of initiative, assisted in the development of the humanitarian sphere in the academy.

Then befell the well-known tragedy. He was arrested in 1937 and then, even before his condemnation, was removed, excluded from the body of members of the academy. This took place in May 1937. And now the Academy of Sciences Presidium and, subsequently, its general assembly, have reinstated Nikolay Ivanovich in his title of member of the USSR Academy of Science.

I think this is a just decision which essentially reinstates this outstanding person, unfortunately posthumously, and returns to the people his theoretical heritage, a heritage of our party and our state.

I would like to add that at this very time the republication of Bukharin's works has also taken place. His selected works—a single volume—have already been published. Other works are also being published. In this way his name is being returned to our people.

It must be added, of course, that this result falls far short of the complete return of those forgotten names which were expunged from life and from science, the names of outstanding scientists who suffered in the period of the personality cult. We have seen that, at least according to the lists of the Academy of Sciences, no fewer than 50 people were illegally repressed during this period. Many of their names have now already been returned to the people. The process has not yet been completed, and it must be said in honor of our academy that it has included those who, despite the terror, boldly raised their voices in defense of the innocent victims of arbitrariness.

In light of these and other events of the historic past, the formation of a state based on the rule of law and on the implementation of all-round legal reform seems to us to be a matter of paramount importance now facing our party and our state.

Further on Elections

LD2010205288 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Special TASS correspondent's report:

The general meeting of the association of Soviet scientists today endorsed what are perhaps the most scopeful changes in the composition of the leading bodies of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the history of its existence. The participants in the meeting voted thrice today—for new vice-presidents, academician-secretaries of sections and new members of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Five new vice-presidents were elected by secret ballot during direct elections. This brings the total number of vice-presidents of the USSR Academy of Sciences to nine, one more than earlier.

The elections to the leading body of the academy are connected with the fact that 20 members of the Presidium, including three vice-presidents, expressed the wish to leave their posts for reasons of advanced age (each of them is over 75) and become advisors of the Presidium of the academy.

Eight academician-secretaries of the academy are to be elected by the general meeting late this evening. They will head sections of the academy for various branches of knowledge. Besides that by-election to the Presidium will be held. It will include the most authoritative scientists. Among the candidates for the election to the Presidium are prominent specialist in the area of economy and sociology Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, economist Academician Leonid Abalkin, prominent political scientist Academician Georgiy Arbatov. Altogether the Presidium will include 47 scientists. One member of the Presidium now represents seven full members of the academy. President of the Academy of Sciences Guriy Marchuk said that "the mechanism of nomination of candidates and elections themselves were held under a new system ensuring to the utmost democratic approach to the solution of questions of the academy's leading bodies whereas, for instance, in the past candidatures of new members of the Presidium were determined by the Presidium itself and put to the vote to the general meeting, this time the candidatures were advanced by sections of the academy."

For over eight hours (with a time-limit for each statement being 3-5 minutes) prominent Soviet scientists discussed in an unbiased way, without mincing matters, the ways of the development of Soviet science, suggested candidatures, or expressed doubts about them, made wishes to scientists nominated to leading posts. A result of such a democratic approach to the elections is the fact that there is no "unanimity" characteristic in the past of the results of the voting. Far from all the new vice-presidents have been endorsed as a result of the absolute community of views.

It is only on one matter that the participants in the general meeting were absolutely unanimous. The meeting unanimously decreed to restore (posthumously) full membership in the Academy of Sciences to Nikolay Bukharin (1888-1938), abrogating the resolution of the general meeting of May 21, 1937 about his expulsion from the academy. As Academician Guriy Marchuk noted, "Bukharin's expulsion from the academy was a deplorable fact in the history of our association, the fact which we had to correct.

Apparatus Cuts Pending

LD2010205888 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—The management apparatus of the USSR Academy of Sciences is to be trimmed from 1,037 people to 700 shortly, it was announced at the general meeting of the academy members that drew to an end today. This is only one of the planned measures further to democratize this prestigious Soviet scientific institution which stands at the threshold of drastic transformations.

Concurrently with reducing the management apparatus it is supposed to refine its structure, style and methods of work, make the process to elect government bodies more democratic.

During the wide-ranging discussion specific proposals were made for combatting bureaucratism and monopolism in science. Participants in the meeting launched the idea of new forms for organizing research to include a sensible combination of state and cooperative elements. The meeting proposed to the academy Presidium addressing the issue of the expediency of setting up cooperatives of scientific workers to be engaged in giving consultations and work on introducing scientific advances in production.

A new system of planning and financing basic research will go into operation in the academy since 1989. It provides for a transition from the funding of the work of scientific institutions to the funding of the themes of research. This should help expedite the process of getting promising development studies out of the laboratory and into production lines, encourage competition among teams of researchers.

All these measures should be instrumental to accomplishing the principal tasks of academic science—ensure progress in the leading fields of science and technology, first and foremost, in engineering, in the development of new materials, in information science, computer- and bio-engineering. The main part of the time allotted to debates was devoted to the discussion of this aspect of the academy's activity.

After the debates were wound up, new members of the academy's governing bodies were elected. Five renowned Soviet scientists—physicist Yuriy Osipyan, chemist Oleg Nefedov, biologist Ram Petrov, geophysicist Nikolay Laverov, and social scientist Vladimir Kudryavtsev—became for the first time its vice-presidents. They replaced their colleagues who stepped down from their posts on grounds of age and for other reasons.

Sakharov Elected to Presidium

LD2010213188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2032 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, 20 Oct (TASS)—TASS special correspondents report:

The most far-reaching changes in the composition of the leading bodies of the USSR academy of Sciences, perhaps in its entire history, were approved today at a general meeting of the Soviet scientists' association. [passage omitted]

Apart from that there was additional voting for the membership of the Presidium to which the most authoritative scientists were elected. They include: the major specialist in the field of climatology, one of the authors of the theory of climatic consequences of a nuclear war, Academician Georgiy Golitsyn; the economist Academician Leonid Abalkin; the well-known political scientist, Academician Georgiy Arabatov; one of the creators of the hydrogen bomb, now a specialist in the field of cosmology, Academician Andrey Sakharov; and others. All in all the Presidium is made up of 47 scientists—at present one member of the Presidium represents seven full members of the Academy. [passage omitted]

Biographies of New Officials

LD2110012488 Moscow TASS in English 2256 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—TASS special correspondent's report:

A general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences elected today by direct secret ballot five new vice-presidents. Now there are nine vice-presidents, one vice-president more than before.

The election was held at the USSR Academy of Sciences because three former vice-presidents expressed the intention to resign for age reasons (they are all over 75) and to become advisers to the Presidium of the academy. The fourth vacancy was created by the death of Yuriy Ovchinnikov who was in charge of chemical and biological sciences. It was deemed expedient to have a vice-president for each of the two sciences. This is how the fifth vacancy emerged.

Yuriy Osipyan, 57, was elected vice-president of the academy. He replaced on this post Academician Vladimir Kotelnikov, 80. Acdemician Osipyan heads the institute of the physics of solids and is one of the coordinators of studies in the sphere of high-temperature superconductivity. Apart from it, he is in charge of space material studies in the USSR. His discovery of the photoplastic effect considerably changed present-day notions about the nature of plasticity and the strength of crystalline bodies. Osipyan has been for many years vice-president of the International Alliance of Theoretical and Applied Physics.

Oleg Nefedov, 57, a chemist, replaced on the post of vice-president of the Academy Yuriy Ovchinnikov who had died last February. Academician Nefedov is a specialist in physical, synthetic, as well as technical organic chemistry, and the author of 100 inventions. He is head of a laboratory at the institute of organic chemistry of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

In the sphere of biological sciences Academician Yuriy Ovchinnikov was replaced by Rem Petrov, 58, member of the Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, specialist in molecular and cellular immunology. His best-known works include the study of the mechanisms of the impact of ionizing radiation on immunity. He managed to find ways of stimulating immunity after irradiation. His papers on the creation of artificial vaccines are very important for the development of science and practical medicine. A sphere of scientific interests of Rem Petrov includes problems connected with the diagnosing of AIDS. Rem Petrov heads the Institute of Immunology in Moscow.

Nikolay Laverov, 58, the leader of the Soviet school on theoretical problems of the formation of uranium deposits, the forecasting, prospecting and development of new deposits of the nuclear raw materials, was also elected vice-president of the Academy of Sciences. He replaced on this post Academician Alexandr Yanshin, 77, who was in charge of sciences studying the earth. During the past several years entirely new technologies of the development of uranium deposits were worked out under the guidance of Academician Laverov. He has headed of late the Academy of Sciences of the republic of Kirghizia.

Vladimir Kudryavtsev, 65, specialist in the theory and sociology of law, replaced on the post of vice-president Petr Fedoseyev, 80. Academician Kudryavtsev, author of over 200 papers, laid the foundation of a number of spheres of the soviet theory of law, specifically, criminology. During the past three years he has been actively working at the concept of a socialist law-based state. Academician Kudryavtsev heads the Institute of the

State and Law under the USSR Academy of Sciences. He is vice-president of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and of the International Society of Social Protection.

Sakharov 'Given Permission' To Leave Country

AU2110100688 Paris AFP in English 0948 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 21 (AFP)—Human rights campaigner Andrey Sakharov has been given permission to leave the Soviet Union for the first time, to attend a conference in the United States in November, his wife Elena Bonner told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE on Friday.

Mrs. Bonner added that the Nobel Peace Prize winning physicist had been elected to the Presidium of the Soviet Academy of Sciences on Thursday evening.

Medvedev 'Ordered' Solzhenitsyn Censorship

AU2110131988 Paris AFP in English 1308 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, Oct 21 (AFP)—Politburo ideology chief Vadim Medvedev on October 14 ordered the censorship of an announcement that a leading literary journal would publish previously-banned works by exiled Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn, a Soviet editor told AFP Friday.

The editor said that Mr. Medvedev issued the instruction to NOVYY MIR Sergei Zalygin after a meeting with about 10 newspaper and magazine editors.

NOVYY MIR was forced to stop distribution of the 1.1 million copies of its October edition. The journal had already been printed with the announcement that Solzhenitsyn, who was expelled in 1974, had agreed to the publication of a number of his works. The contents page containing the announcement had to be reset.

NOVYY MIR did not specify which Solzhenitsyn books would be published, but the author had insisted that "The Gulag Archipelago" documenting Soviet labour camps must be the first, according to reliable Soviet sources.

The editor said he thought the problem between NOVYY MIR and the Soviet leadership "could be resolved". But he hinted that there was a personal clash between Mr. Zalygin and Mr. Medvedev who took over the ideology portfolio after being promoted to the Politburo on September 30.

The editor said he was convinced that Solzhenitsyn would be published in the Soviet Union "sooner or later". Only one Solzhenitsyn work, "A Day in Life of Ivan Denisovich" has ever been published here. [passage omitted]

'Minutes' of Latvian Leaders' Plenum Published

Background Notes

PM2010103988 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Oct 88 p 11

[Harald Hamrin dispatch: "Unique Document From Riga"]

[Text] Riga—On 18 June this year the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee met for a crisis meeting. The political situation in Latvia and Riga was tense. The party had lost control over developments. There was talk that tanks were waiting in readiness.

In February the banned civil rights organization, Helsinki 86, had circulated a document containing a number of far-reaching demands: economic autonomy for Latvia, separate Latvian citizenship, Latvian as the official language.

On 1 and 2 June the executive board of the Latvian Writers Union met under the leadership of its chairman, Latvia's best known writer, Janis Peters. Representatives of other unions of cultural workers were also invited to the meeting. The meeting adopted a resolution which took up and further developed the ideas in the manifesto of the Helsinki group. A number of speeches containing criticism of prevailing inadequacies [raadande missfoerhaallanden] were made and these attracted much attention.

People spoke freely about Latvia's history—the well-known writer and journalist Mavriks Vulfsons used the word "occupation" publicly for the first time when he touched on the Soviet entry [inmarsch] into Latvia 17 June 1940.

For several days in mid-June large crowds of people gathered at the Freedom Monument in central Riga to honor the victims of the terror of the Stalin era. "Anti-Soviet" slogans surfaced there and elsewhere in Riga. People openly discussed the political situation, and Latvian television broadcast detailed reports of the events at the Freedom Monument.

Increasingly outspoken articles surfaced in the press. There started to be talk of the formation of a "popular front"—officially "in support of restructuring," in reality with the aim of putting the conservative party apparatus under pressure.

It was clear that the party had lost control over the situation. Its authority declined rapidly and catastrophically. In the neighboring republic of Estonia developments were the same—and there at about this time the old and compromised party boss, Karl Vayno, was removed from office.

It was under such circumstances that Latvia's then party boss, Boris Pugo, called a meeting of the Central Committee. What the party needed to do was to carry out a quick review of the situation and draw up guidelines for the party's political line in the new situation.

The documentary material which DAGENS NYHETER is able to publish today is unique. The official minutes of the debate at the 18 June Central Committee meeting form the basis for the extracts accompanying this article. Despite repeated demands by leading intellectuals in Latvia the party leadership has refused to make the minutes public—nor is the publication of such material usual in the Soviet Union.

As far as is known, DAGENS NYHETER is today able to publish for the first time in the Western press extracts from the debate at a Soviet Central Committee meeting. The full minutes are considerably more comprehensive (around 60 A4 pages).

But even from the extracts it is possible to form not only a picture of the content of the debate, but also—and this is perhaps what is most interesting—a feeling of the atmosphere and tone of a meeting at which Communist Party bigwigs (in the present case, predominantly conservative bigwigs) speak their minds freely.

Since the 18 June Central Committee meeting the political situation in Latvia has changed dramatically. Party leader Boris Pugo has been given a new post in Moscow. The pro-reform "chief ideologist," Anatoliy Gorbunov, has become Latvia's "president." A popular front with radical demands for Latvian autonomy and democracy has been formed.

The accompanying document is not only of historical interest. The mood and problems within Latvian society, about which the conservative Central Committee members expressed their anger, remain, and if anything have grown worse.

(Practically the whole debate took place in Russian. Note writer Regina Ezera's remark on the fact that she was speaking her own language.)

'Extracts' of Meeting

PM2010104188 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Oct 88 pp 11-12

["Extracts" from the minutes of the Latvian Communist Party 18 June Central Committee meeting: "Calm, Comrades—Democracy Is Democracy"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; all parentheses are as published]

[Text] The head of Latvian television has his knuckles rapped for letting through too much "nationalistic" material, and a chief editor is criticized because he has not yet published a reader's letter supporting the party's views. There is talk of dangerous machinations "under the cloak of restructuring and behind the mask of glasnost."

For the first time we discover how things sound at a Soviet party meeting in a crisis situation.

The Central Committee meeting was opened by the then first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, Boris Pugo:

"Under conditions of democratization there is nothing unusual in our meeting in this way. Therefore we should not view this meeting as an extraordinary event, but as a working meeting forming part of our practical work.

"First of all I would like to say that only a few days remain before the opening of the 19th party conference (which we must view as) an extraordinarily important event in the life of the party and the state and which will in truth be historic and fateful.

"What have the preparations for the conference produced? The main conclusion that can be reached, I think, is this: The Communists and workers in our republic have been clearly and practically convinced that the course the party chose after April (1985) is completely correct. Restructuring has created what is in principle a new moral-political situation in our republic. A significant section of society has been set in movement." (Pugo then gives an account of the progress in the economy, where, he says, it is possible to note clear improvements in industry and agriculture.)

"All this is good," Pugo continued. "But, comrades, we cannot avoiding noting that recently it has been possible to observe a number of trends which have led or could lead to the complication of the political situation in our republic. The situation surrounding a number of questions is being dramatized. The criticism of many phenomena in our republic sometimes becomes all too one-sided.

"Recently people have begun setting a large number of rumors in motion about the so-called secret protocols connected with the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 23 August 1939. The view is constantly being voiced, also in the mass media, that it was precisely these (secret protocols) which were the reason for Latvia's and the other Baltic republics' alleged enforced affiliation to the Soviet Union. Statements are in circulation according to which a revolutionary situation did not exist in June 1940." (Pugo then criticizes well-known writer and journalist Mavriks Vulfson, who spoke of the Soviet Union's "occupation" of Latvia at the 1-2 June meeting of the Writers Union.)

"We do not have the right to adopt a neutral attitude toward such phenomena. We have to take account of the fact that politically immature and ill-considered analyses could be used by extremist elements and actively exploited to stimulate national dissatisfaction and organize antisocial utterances. This was shown very clearly by the (mass) meeting in Riga 14 June which was devoted to the memory of the victims of the repressions of Stalinism. (This in itself is a good thing. The party has also taken the initiative for a commission which will rehabilitate the victims and a monument will be raised to them.)

"But there is something else which gives rise to concern and this is the fact that individual persons and groups, often under the cloak of restructuring, took part, with hostile slogans and placards with the symbols of bourgeois Latvia, including the (red-white-red) flag." (Pugo quotes some slogans:) "'A free Latvia in an united Europe,' 'Immigrants are Latvia's Chernobyl,' 'The Latvian people and its culture are threatened with destruction,' 'History is a lie on which the historians have agreed.'

"I have quoted what are perhaps the most innocent slogans which appeared at the meeting. Some will perhaps be inclined to claim that the meeting was an isolated case. Is it worth talking about? Yes, it is. A consolidation of (the informal groups') forces is taking place. The activities of many groups have taken on a political—and I stress: precisely a political—and sometimes an outright nationalist color. Sometimes there are downright serious anti-Soviet provocations."

(Pugo quotes from a leaflet distributed by "Riga's Young Patriots"): "The time has come for determined action. The whole of Latvia must support the call of the meeting of the Writers Union: A free Latvia without Russian occupiers. The whole of our history has been distorted by the corrupt party workers. The monument to Riga's so-called liberators—the Soviet troops—in Zadvinye must be wiped from the face of the earth immediately. You do not raise memorials to occupiers. Let them go home. Latvian must be immediately proclaimed the official state language."

"This is by no means the only provocative leaflet which has surfaced recently. The party leadership has called several times on party organizations to react to such phenomena, but a significant section of party and ideological workers are not ready to enter into public discussions and to react in a flexible way to the endeavors of the demagogues and extremists.

"We must absolutely adopt the most determined measures to gain control over the negative tendencies (in the activities of the informal groups). We must overcome the passivity of a very large part of our basic organizations within the party. (The mass media have done much to support restructuring). But experience shows that some (journalists) have quite simply been badly prepared when it comes to thinking through and describing complicated processes, problems, and new facts. They are guilty of one-sided distortions and lay claim to possessing the ultimate truth.

"There is reason to point out that the development of openness and the fact that certain 'forbidden' zones and 'forbidden' topics are now being opened up does not mean that journalists no longer have responsibility for arguments and facts, for the selection of their material."

(Pugo quotes three letters to the Central Committee and various newspapers from some party organizations, which despite everything dissociated themselves from the Writers Union's "dubious" meeting.) "I have not seen today's papers. Has PADOMJU JAUNATNE printed this letter?"

Voices: "No."

Pugo: "Is Comrade Tsirulis (the paper's chief editor) here today? He was invited."

Tsirulis: "Boris Karlovich, we will print it Wednesday, in a selection of readers' letters."

Voices: "'In a selection of readers' letters!' Clever!" (Amusement in the chamber.)

Pugo: "Comrade Tsirulis, do you feel the reaction of the meeting? You are a party member and must remember it." (Pugo then takes up the question of relations between Latvians and Russians.)

"As far as everything to do with the nationality issue is concerned, particular care is needed. I must say this once again: Sensitivity is required; the work must be carried out with care and flexibility and with intelligence. We must not allow antagonisms or hate to grow.

"And one further matter. (It happens that) party workers 'undress' on the pages of newspapers and show themselves (in all their frailty). This hardly helps to increase our party's authority. I am not saying that we should not talk about the shortcomings that occur in our party organizations. But this must be done in an ethically correct manner. The party's authority has been seriously weakened recently, and this gives rise to serious concern.

"What reason is there to stir things up? It happens that party workers themselves talk about the fact that there are some types of special stores. But where are they? Yes, of course, there are dining halls. There is a dining hall at the Central Committee, there is a dining hall in the government building. But they only have a very small selection of meat products.

"I do not want to dramatize the ideological-political situation in any way. But nor should we underestimate the possibility of complications. We must fight against the scum that has surfaced on the wave of restructuring with united forces and with intelligence."

Vitaliy Sobolev (Latvian Communist Party second secretary): "Comrades! Questions can be asked verbally or in writing. There has been a question: 'Do you not think that the 3 days of propaganda which Latvian television made for the Writers Union meeting poured oil on the fire? Was it necessary?' Comrade Leya (head of Latvian television and radio) can answer this question."

Jan Leya: "A promise was made that all material (from the Writers Union meeting) would be made public."

Voice: "Who promised that?"

Leya: "A promise was given. Yesterday I saw the transmission and in all honesty I watched it with alarm; this material should not have been broadcast. But repressing it now would lead to a scandal. So I do not know what the best approach would have been."

Pugo: "Excuse my intervention, comrades. Critical events such as those in Nagorno-Karabakh have been shown on central television after all. You simply have to give a fitting explanation. The question is not whether to show such things, but how."

Voices: "Exactly!"

Pugo: (Recalls how he rang Leya late in the evening of 16 June and asked how television planned to commemorate 17 June, the anniversary of Latvia's "liberation"). "Comrade Leya himself went over to the television center and discovered that the broadcast was to begin with the words—tell them which words."

Leya: "I discovered that it was to begin with these words, more or less: 'Today is 17 June. In 1940 the Soviet Army's tanks rolled into Riga.' More or less. Interpret it how you will; are they harmful or not? But I removed those words."

Alfred Rubiks (chairman of Riga City Soviet): "A month ago it was already clear that the situation in the television service was very unhealthy. And I warned about it. Today you are saying that you do not have the situation under control. What have you done to bring it under control? Or are you an inadequate boss and ought to resign?"

Leya: "I have not said that I do not have the situation under control."

Sobolev: "Comrade Leya, I have a question for you. Why did you not look through the program for 17 June? Why does the Central Committee first secretary (Pugo) have to ring you the evening before? Is it his business and not yours?"

Leya: "It is physically impossible to go through all the programs."

Arnold Klautsen (Riga party committee first secretary): "First, the situation in the city. It is characterized by hard work, it is stable and calm. But at the same time we cannot avoid noting certain negative elements. Above all, I would say, we have a powerful wave of criticism of our history, of our past, criticism of the whole party apparatus, and this has produced a tougher attitude to all shortcomings from the majority of our workers.

"This has led to a situation in which the party apparatus and individual party organizations have lost faith in their own work. (In connection with the 14 June mass meeting) the bourgeois republic's flag, the very symbol of bourgeois Latvia, was carried for the first time in the postwar period freely from the 'House of Political Education' to the cemetery. And we will say nothing about the slogans; some of them had a pronounced anti-Soviet character. What is this? Is it pluralism of views, is it a question of the freedom to be able to voice different views, or is it that we are on the defensive?

"Also, we have recently been able to note a very dangerous trend. Agitators are turning up at workplaces. They collect signatures in support of (the Writers Union's) resolution. And also a stratification between Latvians and non-Latvians is beginning.

"There are also other phenomena. People say: 'A worsening of the situation. What do we have to be afraid of? Well, let there be a worsening. There are tanks in Adazyi (town immediately outside Riga); what do we need to be afraid of?'"

Pugo: "Yes, I know that there are people who say that. Can you imagine?"

Klautsen: "We cannot allow a confrontation between the different sections of our population."

Stanislav Zukul (Latvia's KGB chief): "At present we are facing increasing destabilizing activity from the hostile special services or intelligence services. In the stream of foreigners who enter Latvia through various channels every year there are over 70 emissaries and contact men with links with foreign nationalist centers. The number of visa applications by foreigners who have links with the enemy's special services increases markedly in connection with expected events such as those on 14 June this year and last year, 23 August last year, and 18 November.

"During 1986 12 (foreign) correspondents visited our republic. In 1987—that is, when the phenomena had assumed a mass character—58 correspondents came to Latvia. We hold correspondents in high esteem, they are representatives of the press, let them come. What is at stake is something else—how do they describe these events, comrades? The important thing is that they do not approach the problems objectively. (This was true, for example, of the demonstration of 18 November last year, when there was talk in some of the Western press of police brutality and bloodbaths.) Recently their interest has moved over to the economic difficulties. But above all they concentrate on national relations, on the activities of the informal groups.

"According to reliable information an extensive network of informers has been created. The main task of the foreign intelligence services is to get the Baltic republics to totter from within, and this applies to our republic too.

"Radio Free Europe broadcasts open calls for the formation of political opposition groups and is seeking to provoke the creation of a national front.

"The memorandum recently distributed by 'Riga's Young Patriots' has an openly anti-Soviet and nationalistic character; it calls for armed struggle against the power of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately the memorandum is based on and written under the influence of the resolution from the Writers Union's meeting. These 'Young Patriots' write: 'We must fight for Latvia's secession from the Soviet Union. And if we do not succeed through peaceful means, we must resort to armed struggle against the Russian occupation forces.'

"At the last meeting (of the Central Committee) I said that the quantity of hostile graffiti and leaflets had fallen in our republic. Today I have to inform you that since 14 June, literally in the last few days, the situation has changed dramatically. Graffiti and leaflets with openly hostile, anti-Soviet, and nationalistic content have appeared. Here are some examples: 'Death to the Russian occupiers,' 'We will hang the Russians,' 'We will hang the Slavs,' 'Get rid of the Communists,' 'For a free Latvia.'

"What does this reveal? It reveals that recently we have been closing our eyes to this problem, that we no longer look at this question from a class perspective. We have, as it were, decided that there are no longer people who do not accept Soviet power. I can tell you with authority that there have been and there are people who do not accept Soviet power, but who are hiding under a cloak of support for restructuring. This is something that we must always remember."

Valfrid Ozolinsh (secretary of a local party district): "Our ideological enemy claims that the Communists are not capable of carrying through real changes in society and that is why all manner of informal groups are surfacing. We must undertake a clear analysis of ourselves and of the situation around us. It is really terrible to watch today how a political flea market, as it were, is growing up around the Freedom Monument. I think it is wrong to go onto the defensive. We really have to come to grips with this and even express our lack of political confidence in individual leaders." (He was probably referring to, among others, Anatoliy Gorbunov, the pro-reform Central Committee secretary and 'chief ideologist'). "And our head of television and radio's performance (here today) was, speaking honestly, dubious, and betrayed panic."

Vasiliy Terekhov (secretary of a local party district): "I have to say that at a meeting of our local party district last Thursday Central Committee Secretary Anatoliy Gorbunov was the target of harsh criticism. It was said that he is flirting with the Writers Union and that he is toothless. And I will also say that great efforts were required to calm the delegates at the meeting. They categorically demanded—and insisted that we should take a vote on it—that he should be expelled from the Latvian Communist Party Politburo.

"At the meeting we also discussed Vulfson and his position. A resolution was adopted calling for an investigation into—forgive me, but this was the wording—Vulfson's political prostitution."

Regina Ezera (woman writer): "I hope that I will not be regarded as a nationalist if I speak in Latvian. (She speaks in detail about the nationality question, and says among other things that 'a new and very serious divide' has arisen in society.) The previous speaker's remarks were completely unacceptable. They were characterized by the old style. We have to be prepared to discuss and argue—and not again gag people, as it were. If we are to be able to bring about restructuring, we have to discuss questions that have been taboo for years, indeed for decades."

Rubiks: "A word to Comrade Ezera. Of course we must discuss. But the final result can only be one and the same. The ultimate goal must be to strengthen the achievements of socialism, not dissolve them. When you are assessing various events I advise you not simply to turn on the faucet, but instead to proceed from a class analysis. A workers' writer, a workers' poet, and a workers' artist are never mistaken and never distance themselves from the people. Let me say that the workers are not with you.

"And now a different matter. Who has given Comrade Chaklays (chief editor of LITERATURA UN MAKSLA) permission to tape record what is being said here? I am waiting for a reply. Who has given Comrade Chaklays permission to do this?"

Chaklays: "No one. I did not ask. I did not know it was forbidden."

Rubiks: "You ought to know. And another question: What do you want it for? Give yourself an answer. I do not expect an answer.

"I will now move on to what I really wanted to say. I consider that the situation in Riga at least will soon become critical if fitting measures are not adopted." (He criticizes newspapers and television which are not interested in what is happening at workplaces, but which set up their "biggest cameras" in front of the Freedom Monument, where people have been gathering in the last few days. He also criticizes Gorbunov, who at one point appeared on television against the background of a red-white-and-red 'bourgeois' flag.) "You are the Central Committee secretary responsible for propaganda. I consider that these are unnecessary concessions." (There follow further attacks on the press)

Pugo: (It is clear that there is disturbance in the chamber) "Calm, comrades, take it easy. Democracy is democracy."

Janis Dzenitis (Latvia's state prosecutor): "The political situation in our republic and in Riga in particular is very serious today. And if fitting measures are not adopted the situation will worsen further and we know only too well what this could lead to.

"It is good that we honor the memory of the victims of Stalinism. We should do so. But I think that we are politically blind if we do not see that behind this mask something completely different is happening. Political demonstrations are being organized, anti-Soviet groups are being created. Their aim is to tear Soviet Latvia away from the common socialist system, to create hate between citizens of Russian nationality and Latvians.

"As an extension of this they want to achieve the voicing of calls for Latvia's secession from the Soviet Union. And one has to say that everything is being done in a very masked way, with allusions to restructuring, to democracy, and to glasnost.

"I would like to say that the leadership of our republic has not evaluated these phenomena correctly. In some cases even people in responsible positions have flirted with our class opponents. We must cease this flirting immediately.

"We must adopt suitable measures to strengthen party control over the work of the mass media. The impression is being created that we are not led by the party, but by three or four journalists—by Inken, Rubenis, Gavar, and Vulfson. It is they who determine the course, say what we should think. After all, glasnost and democracy do not mean that everything is permitted. We support democracy and glasnost as long as they serve the interests of socialism. But if they are used against socialism, we must look at the question through other eyes."

Anatoliy Gorbunov (Central Committee secretary with responsibility for ideology): "In the whole of my life I have not experienced a more difficult period than at present. I am not talking about the critical views that have been voiced against me today. I will talk about that later. What I want to say now is that I feel as if I am being ground between two stones in a gigantic mill. On the one side: the intelligentsia, the creative intelligentsia, and the mass media. On the other side: our party apparatuses. Unfortunately, I have to say that I cannot manage this role—and it is not just my role, for that matter.

"As far as the remarks that I am flirting are concerned, I can only say one thing. I stand by what I say and flirting does not come into it. (I may have made one or two mistaken remarks.) But as far as my basic approach, the main issues, are concerned, I cannot change anything. And if you consider that I am wrong, that my views and my thoughts do not square with the position I hold—well, then I can resign. Today we live in a time such that we cannot say one thing one day and something else the next. I at least cannot do so.

"For my own part I cannot agree with everything that has been said from this rostrum today. And above all not with a statement that was made to the effect that the workers are not behind the creative intelligentsia. I cannot agree with such an analysis.

"(I can agree with much of what has been said here today.) But we have not talked about the causes of everything (happening around us). And why is it that the Writers Union's resolution has interested so many people? Well, it is because it said much out loud (about which no one spoke in the past).

"This applies to the large group of questions connected with our autonomy, with our sovereignty, with citizenship, with our language. (We must come to grips today with all these questions, study them, arrive at a stance with regard to them). If through our assessments and actions we are unable to bind to us the strata of society—and I am not talking about the extremists—which are now going out onto the streets and discussing the real problems, then, as I see it, there is only one way out for us and that is to throw in the towel. There can be no other way."

Pugo: "Comrades, let us see and understand clearly that the situation has become more difficult. But our meeting must lead to unification (of our forces). We must not allow different camps to arise.

"Restructuring forces us to take account of many new factors; it forces us to make decisions as we are going along. But we must always bear one thing in mind: We must not lose our principles, we must do everything to support that which makes a contribution to the development of socialism. There is no other way."

Non-Latvian, Anti-'Popular Front' Groups Forming

PM2010154788 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 18 Oct 88 p 11

[Harald Hamrin dispatch: "Latvia: The Tension Is Growing"]

[Text] Moscow—The tension has increased between Latvians and non-Latvians in Riga in the week that has passed since the Popular Front was formed in the Soviet republic of Latvia. The party leadership has gone onto the attack against sections of the Popular Front's leadership.

Demonstrations are being planned and the Russian group in the population has organized itself for a counterattack.

This has emerged from information which reached DAGENS NYHETER in Moscow yesterday from the Latvian capital.

Last Saturday [15 October] a statement by the Latvian Communist Party Politburo was made public which said that a number of anti-Soviet and anti-party calls at the Popular Front congress over the weekend of 8-9 October had given rise to indignation and caused people to dissociate themselves from the front.

Particular mention was made of Yuris Dobelis, who demanded that Latvia should demand secession from the Soviet Union and that Russian immigrants should leave Latvia, and of Yuris Vidinsh, who compared Stalinism's crimes with those of Nazism and pointed to Latvian President Anatoliy Gorbunov as a representative of the Soviet "occupation force."

Dobelis also called for the publication of the minutes of the Latvian Central Committee meeting of 18 June, extracts of which were published by DAGENS NYHETER in its Sunday [16 October] edition.

"The calls for secession from the union of fraternal republics will not win the support of the people," the statement said.

The party leadership also criticized certain individuals who are members of the Popular Front for wishing to complicate the situation and encourage demonstrations and unsanctioned actions. Only measures which aim at accelerating restructuring, developing democratization, and strengthening socialism can be tolerated, the party leadership stressed, also warning the party members who are members of the Popular Front that they should allow themselves to be guided first and foremost by the party's program and statutes—and, by implication, not by the policies of the Popular Front.

The Popular Front's newly elected chairman, Dainis Ivans, who himself is a party member, said at a news conference last Monday [10 October] that in the event of a conflict between the Popular Front and the party he would be guided by his conscience, and that if necessary he was prepared to go against the party.

The same day that the party leadership's statement was published the Latvian-language youth newspaper, PADOMJU JAUNATNE, said that the situation in Latvia could become threatening within a matter of days or weeks. The newspaper pointed out that a number of attacks on citizens had taken place recently and hinted between the lines that these attacks involved Russian youths who had attacked Latvians. The newspaper also criticized the (predominantly Russian-speaking) police for adopting a passive approach to such events.

On Sunday evening Latvian television revealed in the popular "Good Evening" program that a "League of Slavs" has been formed, apparently with the aim of organizing the non-Latvian population in opposition to the Popular Front. In a statement the newly formed league branded the Popular Front as anti-Soviet and nationalistic.

"We call on people to struggle against those who want to wrest Latvia from the Soviet Union and deprive us of our citizenship," the statement said. "Down with the betrayers of the people!"

The league called for a ban on meetings in Riga until the situation has returned to normal, but at the same time it called on its own supporters to gather in a counterdemonstration on Thursday [20 October], when several so-called informal groups have called a mass meeting to protest against the immigration of non-Latvians.

Further demonstrations and counterdemonstrations are planned for 11 and 18 November.

Latvia's Popular Front Congress Reviewed

LD2010052288 Moscow TASS in English 0514 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Riga October 20—By LATINFORM correspondent Lyudmila Shvarts:

Speaker after speaker at the two-day founding congress of Latvia's Popular Front indulged in florid rhetoric. This eloquence was not so much due to people's wish to make a good speech as to the nature of the occasion—a new democratic movement was born in this Soviet Baltic republic.

Latvia's Popular Front, which by the time of the congress had a membership of 115,000, refers to perestroyka as its "godmother". The drive for restructuring is credited with opening the floodgates to the free and democratic discussion of state issues, with filling the slogans of glasnost (openness) with the real contents.

Philosophers and social scientists are yet to study the phenomenon of the emergence of this powerful public movement. In a matter of months the organization asserted itself by its own charter, programme, effective pressure groups and a system of organized actions. Incidentally, it has neither staff nor official leaders.

The two-day congress, addressed by the "big three"—heads of the Communist Party of Latvia, the parliament and government—provided a forum for discussion not only to the 2,000 people who came to the house of political education in Riga. An unprecedented decision was taken to hold uninterrupted transmission of the congress through television and radio with the simultaneous translation into Russian. At times the debates dragged out till 3 a.m.

The main issues did not cause serious differences among the participants in the discussions. The idea of creating a law-based state, implementing the economic reform and asserting the high status of national culture gained support from the general public during the discussion of the draft programme. Proposals on ways of achieving these goals by the republic, at times proved contradictory. Passions ran high as one speaker replaced another. Sometimes the speakers disregarded not only the eight minute time-limit but also elementary ethics using strong language. As many as 130 people said they wanted to take part in debates and their number kept growing.

Diverse issues were raised with answers often provided in speeches that followed after. People said they saw the only true prospect in building a law-based state within the framework of the union of the constituent republics, in re-evaluating historical facts which became possible after access to archives had been opened. Models to perfect the socialist economy were proposed.

For example, the discussion helped formulate the goals and tasks of the Popular Front, which Jan Vagris, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, sees as "the progressive public movement which will render the party great help in renewing all spheres of life."

More than a thousand delegates represented members of the republic's Popular Front. Far from all of them had similar positions. But they were unanimous when electing the chairman of the Council of Popular Front. It was 33-year-old Dainis Ivans, a Latvian journalist who is a member of the CPSU. His first interview to the 200 Soviet and foreign colleagues at the congress proved that he was an energetic and convinced supporter of perestroyka. "Struggle with the help of words," he said, "is quite normal. This is pluralism. It is important for it not to go beyond the framework of the reasonable. The transformations we are fighting for are needed by all. It is not important which language the man speaks and what his position is. We are all for the prosperity of the motherland."

Lithuanian 'Economic Independence' Viewed

LD2010061588 Moscow TASS in English 0517 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Lithuania: Economic Independence—Utopia or Reality?"—TASS headline]

[Text] Vilnius October 20—By ELTA correspondent Rolkandas Barisas:

Only a few weeks ago many people in Lithuania regarded with scepticism the idea of transferring fully to cost-accounting and dismissed it as utopia. However, following publication in the press of the blueprint of a new model for economic management in this Soviet Baltic republic, the number of doubters has dwindled. The blueprint was prepareed by the scientists of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of Lithuania, who enlisted the efforts of prominent specialists of many scientific establishments.

"The project which calls for Lithuania to go full cost-accounting from July 1, 1989, spells out the prerequisites for such a reform, specific ways of its implementation in the next few years and in a more distant future," Antanas Mercaitis, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the republic, explained. "Practice has shown that under the existing structure of economic management enterprises do not have complete independence, the administrative methods of management remain and the entire republic lacks incentive to perform better."

Lithuanian scientists were encouraged to work on the new principles of management following the resolution of the 19th party conference which says, in particular, that steps should be taken to inform working people about how much a republic or a region produces, what contribution it makes into the economy of the country and how much gets back.

Economic independence means for Lithuania, which has its own resources, that it should live in accordance with the results of its work. To this end it should take charge of mineral resources and everything that is situated on its territory. So far enterprises of union subordination, which are practically out of control by the government of Lithuania, account for 38 per cent of the entire industrial output.

The new model of economic management provides, in this connection, for putting all orders "from the centre" on the contractural basis. The need for such a step is illustrated by an example cited by Mercaitis: More than 200,000 portable TV sets, Silialis, are manufactured in Lithuania every year. However, they are supplied into the all-union funds, and the republic practically gets nothing back when they are distributed.

The Soviet bodies of state power retain the functions of pursuing the foreign policy and ensuring defence.

Mercaitis also said that significant changes were planned in the budget formation. Scientists hold the view that the republic would itself solve the questions of preparation and endorsement of the plans for its economic, social and demographic development, price formation, taxing, remuneration and economic stimulation. Banking and money circulation may also be put within its competence.

For the purpose of further developing border ties, it is envisaged that the customs on its territory would be put under the authority of the republic, which will also set customs on imported and exported goods.

Proposals by scientists on making the republic economically independent are the subject of broad discussion by the working people of Lithuania. Their letters show that the project finds approval although different opinions are aired on some issues. They will be taken into account during the finalising of the project which will be submitted for endorsement by the USSR Council of Ministers in November.

Estonia's Toome Cited on Language, Migration

LD2010062588 Moscow TASS in English 0522 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Tallinn October 20—By ETA correspondent Aleksandr Veskiy.

An interview with Indrek Toome, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, was held soon after a plenary meeting of the Central Committee at which the recently elected party leader of Estonia Vayno Vyalyas proposed his analysis of political processes, after the new public movement called the Popular Front held a folklore fete in Tallinn where 300,000 people not just joined in singing folk songs but also took part in a political debate. Questions of economic independence in Estonia, of the revival of Estonian culture, of environmental protection were discussed at different levels and in various public circles. "National processes do not develop of their own accord. They are linked to a number of political problems", Toome said. "Our life is markedly altered by perestroyka, the democratisation of society, the shaping of a law-governed state. Specifically, real meaning is restored to the notion of national awareness."

Many residents of the republic who are not Estonians think that measures which are approved also by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia are too radical, specifically as regards the proposal that the Estonian language should be proclaimed the state language in the republic and that Estonian citizenship be introduced.

Toome is of the opinion that these decisions are in keeping with the provisions of the resolution on interethnic relations adopted by the 19th all-union party conference. The resolution proclaims the need for the development of national languages, protection of interests of the native population of the republics, widening their sovereign rights in conducting all-union and their own affairs. "Over many years, the language and citizenship have been artificially separated from other signs of national existence: the community of territory, the community of economic and political life for all people inhabiting this territory", Toome said. "And now we wish to close this gap".

Indeed, not everybody is pleased with new approaches. But then not everybody is pleased with perestroyka, said the secretary of the Central Committee. "We have been educated for long under the principles of pseudo-internationalism, the Stalinist notion of internationalism, which actually boiled down to general assimilation. It was held that if we think alike, sing and dance alike, this is precisely friendship of peoples. Luckily, when perestroyka was started we realized that we shall destroy socialism unless we recognize multiformity, see different interests, also interests of nations, republics, regions. Only free people, free and equal nations can really be friends. The road to this now is the shaping of a law-governed state".

The recognition of the Estonian language as state language on the territory of the republic will shortly be registered in Estonia's constitution, by introducing an appropriate amendment, Toome said. "And we see that not only the overwhelming majority of Estonians, but also people of other nationalities residing in the republic regard this decision to be fundamentally correct. Certainly, there are doubts, but I think they will clear up after the laws regulating the use of languages in the Estonian territory are adopted. The Russian language will remain the language of interethnic communication, for we are part of the USSR."

Touching upon the question of introducing Estonian citizenship in the republic, Toome said that its introduction will "help regulate migration processes. What happens now is abnormal, I mean the unrestrained bringing into the republic of manpower to suit the unreasonable policy of central ministries which widen the production without the knowledge of the local authorities, without consideration for the social, demographic, ecological factors. Just imagine the following situation: You have an apartment, and you, naturally, want to be a master in it, want to decide for yourself whom and when you should invite to visit you. But how can one be responsible for order, for feeding people and providing conveniences for them if an outsider can enter the apartment any moment, open the fridge and take something out of it without regard for your calculations. It is often said that we are all friends and brothers. Yes, we wish to achieve this. But it should be considered if all the proclaimed goals can be achieved now. We still mix up deals and reality."

Sumgait 'Pogroms' Trial Continues in Moscow

LD2010155388 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

The reading of the indictment was completed today at the Soviet Supreme Court trial of three persons accused of engaging in mass disorders in Sumgait, Azerbaijan, last February when 32 people were killed and another 400 injured there.

The defendants—Akhmed Akhmedov, Azad Ismailov and Yavar Dzhafarov—were charged with organizing and participating in pogroms, murder and arson on one of the three tragic days that month, when seven persons were killed.

After hearing the indictment, Akhmedov and Dzhafarov pleaded partially guilty, while Ismailov denied all the charges altogether.

As the indictment was read out, the tense silence in the courtroom was often broken by noise and exclamation in the audience as the more gruesome episodes were described.

It was hard to believe that all had been perpetrated by people so young.

The last word, of course, belongs to the court. It is only it that can determine the extent of guilt of each of the accused and proclaim according punishments.

When examined by the court today, the defendants made contradictory statements and renounced their earlier testimony during the pre-trial investigation.

The prosecutor, however, had little trouble debunking their claims.

That happened, for instance, when Dzhafarov, 18, explained that he went into the entrance of a house where people were being killed "out of curiosity" and that he "anyway happened on the site by chance" as he "was walking with the crowd towards home".

Caught out lying when prosecution produced a map showing that Dzhafarov's house is on the other side of the city, he clammed up sullenly.

Akhmedov, whose clothing was proved to be stained with blood of the same group as that of the people he is charged with murdering, suddenly suffered a "loss of memory".

There was nearly total silence throughout the proceedings in the part of the courtroom where some of the victims and the bereaved were sitting. Those people were strikingly correct, with tears welling up but no sound coming from them, which made their silent crying even bitterer.

The victims, summoned as witnesses, today began giving testimony.

Kravtsov Seeking 'Equitable Solution'

LD1910102888 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2030 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Boris Kravtsov, Soviet minister of justice and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Interethnic Relations, is in Yerevan on a visit and has held a meeting with a group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, including the following who made statements during this meeting: Sergey Ambartsumyan, rector of Yerevan State University; writer Vardges Petrosyan; Viktor Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian Academy of Sciences; and others.

These deputies of the highest organ of the state authority in the country explained the situation created in the republic, raised a number of important problems crying for a solution, and emphasized the need to take effective measures for the equitable solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem which would help normalize the situation (?in the republic). Kravatsov stressed that his meetings in Armenia had been immeasurably useful and that the proposals and remarks made will be reported to the commission for study and appropriate action.

Armenian Central Committee Bureau Meets

LD1910105888 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has met. The session approved the visit to Nagorno-Karabakh by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and his meeting with Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

The question of implementing the proposals and critical observations made at the Armenian Communist Party September Plenum was discussed. It was decided to forward these proposals and observations to the Central Committee departments, to gorkoms and raykoms, and to press organs for deliberation and for necessary action and to submit proposals and observations concerning the powers of state organs to the Armenian Council of Ministers for deliberation and to the people's control committee of the republic to exercise control over their deliberation and fulfillment in the corresponding ministries and supervisory bodies.

The Bureau also discussed numerous questions of socioeconomic and cultural life in the republic.

Apology Demanded for TRUD 'Provocation'

LD1910104888 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Yesterday, a group of war and labor veterans applied to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee with a letter which says:

A shameless slur has been cast against the honor of the Armenian people in a special situation report published in the weekly VETERAN, a TRUD supplement.

We regard the appearance of such an item in the pages of the weekly at the present juncture, when there are noticable trends toward a stabilization of the situation in the republic, as nothing other than a provocation aimed at exacerbating the situation in Armenia all over again. We find that it is essential to subject all those guilty of this provocation to party and official responsibility and to publish a retraction in the pages of TRUD, which publishes the supplement.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, being fully in agreement with the indignation expressed by the war and labor veterans as well as by the population of Yerevan, has applied to the editorial board of TRUD to demand an explanation of the affair, punishment of the guilty in the most severe manner, and that its readership be informed accordingly. The appropriate union bodies have also been kept in the picture.

Yerevan Paper Carries Arutyunyan 8 Oct Speech

PM1910150988 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 9 Oct 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Speech by Armenian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary S.G. Arutyunyan on Armenian television 8 October 1988"]

[Text] Dear compatriots!

Today I want to hold with you a difficult but frank and principled conversation.

September witnessed an extreme exacerbation of the situation in the republic. The complex interweaving of sentiments and a new outburst of passions and emotions reached a dangerous level, at which the most undesirable consequences were only one more step away. We are dealing here with the serious political situation brought about by the 18 September events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. It requires a clear and precise political analysis.

Above all I cannot remain silent about the fact that the movement which has grown up around the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh has overflowed its banks, absorbing currents which are pursuing goals incompatible with our national interests. At rallies some people are persistently and methodically spreading malicious rumors that the republic's new leadership has supposedly retreated from its former positions on the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, that it has turned its back on the people and the urgent questions which are today acutely agitating us all. To ignore these assertions means to allow particular groups of people to exploit the difficulties of the problem and the complexities of the ways to resolve it in order to denigrate the activity of the republic's party and state organs, to inflame the situation, and essentially to lead the problem into an impasse.

I am convinced that it is openly [glasno, otkryto], looking the people in the eye, that we must evaluate all our doings and draw lessons from the errors and miscalulations made in and from the prevailing situation. This is, if you like, the credo of both myself and the party, and also a moral and life credo.

And those people who try to speak of an alleged gulf created between the republic's leadership and the people are mistaken. There is not and cannot be such a gulf. This is not mere words. We fully share the feelings of our people; we are, as before, concerned about the fate of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. We have consistently advocated the just resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. We openly declared our position at the 15 June session of the republic's Supreme Soviet and the 19th all-union party conference, gave a reasoned exposition of it during the sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and reaffirmed it at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September (1988) Plenum. We confirm this position by our daily work—you only need the desire in order to see and comprehend all this.

Judge for yourselves. Many people doubted the efficacy of the decisions adopted on the NKAO. But life has demonstrated that the 18 July resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has brought about a new situation in the oblast by enhancing its authority and broadening its autonomy in the solution of the accumulated issues. Of fundamental significance is the fact that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet appointed Central Committee department chief A.I. Volskiy to be their representative in the NKAO. The oblast acquired the capability of solving questions via a representative of the central authorities vested with broad powers. As you can see, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution initiated the difficult, extremely complex search for an objective and just resolution of the problem.

We must make use of every new opportunity to strengthen the Armenian SSR's ties with the NKAO. We have already received more than 1,000 suggestions on strengthening ties with the NKAO; dozens of labor collectives have expressed the readiness, and many of them are already implementing a specific program in

Nagorno-Karabakh; close economic, spiritual, and cultural contacts have been established. Active assistance will be rendered in establishing production facilities for the electrical engineering, electronic, and light industries. Preparatory work is under way to lay on a gas supply for the oblast. Within the system of the agro-industrial complex we will participate in setting up a cannery and a cheese-making plant, a meat combine, a plant for processing grapes, and other enterprises. Much work is being done to render assistance in housing and sociocultural construction. Places have been allocated in Armenian VUZ's for the special instruction of students from the NKAO. Our creative unions have begun to work in close collaboration with the intelligentsia of Nagorno-Karabakh. All the conditions are being created for the active participation of the citizens of Soviet Armenia in economic and cultural assistance to Nagorno-Karabakh.

It is time to move from "soapbox" patriotism, from emotional patriotism, to practical deeds. Our assistance is needed by our compatriots in Nagorno-Karabakh, and the enhancement of their living standards and the socio-economic and cultural development of the oblast represent not a barrier but a substantial prerequisite for the solution of the basic problem. Shortsighted maximalism is by no means the best way.

This is an objective reality, comrades—Armenia's interrelations with the NKAO have now been transferred to the plane of specific deeds and are becoming increasingly firm and irreversible. But I will not conceal something else, either: These interrelations are not arrived at simply; hidden obstacles and recurrences of former stereotypes are also encountered in their path.

Let no one believe that the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers on Nagorno-Karabakh and the other important documents had an easy birth. No way. There are among us forces who are by no means ecstatic about these decisions and who are therefore endeavoring quietly to torpedo any of our practical moves.

You know that in the speeches of several delegates to the 19th all-union party conference—mine included—there was the proposal to introduce the relevant amendments into the USSR Constitution. This was also reflected in a resolution of the party conference. The proposals on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution are currently being worked on. It must be hoped that this will create favorable conditions for the objective solution of the problems which have accumulated in interethnic relations.

The broad working masses of our republic see the way out of the prevailing situation in the political solution of the NKAO problem. There is neither ambiguity nor indecision in our approach to this problem, and it in no way diverges from the position of our people.

In this connection I would like to broach the question of convening an extraordinary session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. A group of deputies has addressed such a proposal to the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet. This question is being debated not only at rallies; there is broad and committed discussion of it in labor collectives, organizations, and institutions. Letters and telegrams are arriving at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Of course, the deputies themselves and the Supreme Soviet Presidium will decide whether or not to convene a session. But I would like to voice my own viewpoint. It is actually being proposed that the session confirm what was already adopted at the 15 June session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. One asks oneself: Is this so important today, when the situation has changed sharply and when a new approach to the political solution of the problem is required?

We are not guided by the passions of the moment and good intentions but by comprehensively substantiated, life-verified concepts geared to the long term.

In this connection I would like to note that not everyone has correctly comprehended the meaning of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's 23 September resolution "On Measures for the Normalization of the Situation in the Republic Which Has Arisen in Connection With the Recent Events in the NKAO." I will recall that it has been deemed advisable to examine at the forthcoming session of the republic's Supreme Soviet the progress in the fulfillment by the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs of the resolutions on the NKAO of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

We have submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium a request that measures be adopted to speed up the fulfillment of the well-known 18 July resolution and the examination of the proposals introduced at the sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. At the same time we have requested the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities to accelerate the preparation of questions on the NKAO for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The resolution adopted by the Presidium raises the question of implementing the essential measures to ensure real security guarantees for the Armenian population resident in the territory of Azerbaijan. As you know, we addressed this question both to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

You know that the Soviet of Nationalities commission headed by A.E. Voss has already set about studying the Nagorno-Karabakh problem on site. This is a very representative commission and it includes many eminent people of our country, along with six USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from our republic.

The commission's deputy chairman, USSR Minister of Justice B.V. Kravtsov, and commission member P.K. Luchinskiy, second secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, have also been to Yerevan, have visited labor collectives, and have talked with people and familiarized themselves with a prevailing situation which seriously alarms all stata of the republic's population. As the commission's proposals become ready, they will be submitted for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This is, I believe, one more important step forward.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and government believe that questions connected with the solution of problems of a general national nature must be discussed seriously, in a calm atmosphere, and with consideration for all the factors conditioning their solution.

In Moscow recently I met with our country's leaders. The entire complex of issues connected with the NKAO was once again examined comprehensively and most attentively. We gave an honest account of our view of the current situation. It must be said that the Central Committee does not consider the question closed and is persistently seeking ways toward an objective solution of the problem.

Sumgait remains a festering wound in people's hearts. We see how the protracted investigation is keeping this wound open, how people are alarmed by the fact that legal proceedings are under way in different cities of our country, yet no information is being received in the republic as to who has been punished, what punishment has been incurred, and whether the appropriate political conclusions have been drawn from brutal crimes which are so incredible in our society. We believe that there are grounds for such disquiet. And together with the people we demand the strict application of the law.

The other day we put a question to USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev and USSR Supreme Court Chairman V.I. Terebilov. Their attention was drawn to the need to accelerate the legal proceedings and ensure strict legality and full glasnost. We were assured that the USSR Supreme Court will accept in its own proceedings the most complex cases relating to Sumgait.

I am confident that the resolutions of the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet open up new prospects for the resolution of the issues worrying our people.

But is it only the Nagorno-Karabakh problem that worries our people. No, of course not! Many unresolved problems have accumulated in our republic which are making themselves felt at every step. We discussed them thoroughly at the September plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and formulated measures for their solution.

On the basis of these, we have already made a thorough study of, for instance, all issues connected with the closure in the near future of the Armenian AES and the republic's transfer to new, ecologically safe sources of power. This is a complex and large-scale operation. All the calculations and substantiations have already been completed, and now I can repeat with confidence: The Armenian AES will be closed down in, possibly, a short time!

Equally effective and comprehensively weighed measures are being implemented in relation to the acute problems of Lake Sevan. A ring collecting main will be commissioned within the next 2 years, whatever efforts this requires. All enterprises must be ready to be linked up with it straightaway. The leaders have been strictly warned: We do not intend to make any exceptions, and any enterprises not linked up in time to the general collecting main will be halted and the guilty leaders will be punished with all severity. We have set ourselves a precise task—to save our pearl, our life-giving spring, Lake Sevan—and we will resolve this task.

Today we are paying particular attention to ensuring that our Armenian language finds the very broadest application in all spheres of life. We are developing a targeted, comprehensive program for improving Armenian language instruction in all schools and the teaching of the history of the Armenian people in Russian schools in our native tongue. We must impart new content to our age-old traditions to rear civilized people and citizens in the highest meaning of that word—with a broad intellectual outlook and fluent in their native tongue, the Russian language, and foreign languages.

We intend to tackle seriously the unresearched pages of our history, the spiritual and cultural legacy of the Armenian people. We must have no forbidden names, no books of value to our people which are excluded from our spiritual life.

We have many unresolved questions—in both the ideological-moral sphere and the socioeconomic sphere. We talked about them openly and frankly at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September (1988) Plenum. The main thing now is to implement more rapidly what we outlined. For this we need to consolidate our forces. We must be a united, cohesive people in the struggle to restructure the life of the republic.

One more circumstance that generates alarm: At unsanctioned rallies an atmosphere of total license is being whipped up, concealed behind talk of "soapbox democracy." True democracy presupposes open pluralism of opinions; however, at rallies we frequently see something else—the deliberate, persistently imposed departure from truth to untruth. Appeals to take up arms, to create

Armenian troop formations, to wage a struggle for so-called Armenian "self-determination" are being made openly. On the basis of rumor and conjecture passions and even individual anti-Russian sentiments are being whipped up.

Our people resolutely reject these adventurist appeals. They are profoundly aware of the unfading significance of the unbreakable friendship with the Russian people, a friendship which has withstood the test of time. It is worth us all pondering the fact that irresponsible utterances even from mere individuals cast a shadow over our national appearance.

Do those who set the tone at the microphone really not realize that the arousing of emotions by immoral methods constitutes a social danger? That it is wrong to involve children in processions and rallies, taking them away from their studies and toying with their future? For even in the desert of Ter-Zora, Armenian mothers taught their children grammar by tracing Mesrop Mashtots' characters in the sand. And even during the heroic 40 days in besieged Musaler the teaching of children went on uninterruptedly.

From the speeches at the rallies it is sometimes possible to surmise that the people here are aware of the danger of switching from unrestrained emotions to uncontrollable actions. But in reality they do not occupy considered positions. On the contrary, they are continuing to make attempts to pressure the authorities, and they are perpetrating unlawful actions.

Just how is it possible to scorn the national dignity of the people so irresponsibly? How is it possible to disregard this people's character and the spiritual qualities which have given it the prestige of a worker-people, a creator-people?

Or take the strikes. They have produced neither political nor practical results—and indeed, nor could they. But what have they led to? In July the republic underproduced industrial output to the tune of R73 million, failed to carry out R20 million worth of construction and installation work, and scores of thousands were deprived of wages and found themselves in a difficult material situation. In September we failed to produce industrial articles worth almost R35 million. Deliveries have been disrupted; the republic has been a brake on the country's national economic complex and has lost its reputation as a reliable partner. In September 220 families in Yerevan alone were deprived of the opportunity to obtain apartments. Tell me, what external foe could inflict such serious damage on Armenia as we ourselves have done under clamorous pseudopatriotic slogans?

But we are setting ourselves the task of accomplishing a radical breakthrough in the development of the republic's economy and of comprehensively preparing it for the transition to republic economic accountability. This demands the immediate stabilization of the situation, the consolidation of all forces, the skillful combination of the work of all links, and the purposeful utilization of our intellectual potential.

The problem lies not only in the fact that the republic's economy has been harmed. The moral losses are much more substantial. Appeals are to be heard at the rallies as if for the spiritual unity of the people, but some people are doing everything, on the contrary, in order to disunite people, to push them toward anarachy, toward total license. How will all this look tomorrow? What response will it generate in the hearts of our young people particularly?

I personally am very alarmed—more than that, it causes me profound pain—by the fact that certain individuals are exploiting for unseemly ends the noble patriotic impulses of our student youth. I appeal to the reason and conscience of our young men and women—surely our common cause is impeded by the disruption of classes and other precipitate actions?

It is possible that some people are now contentedly warming their hands. But the majority of our people—I have met with many people during this time and am well acquainted with their mood—are profoundly aware that spontaneity is not our way. During these meetings I have been asked on a number of occasions: Why are we not acting decisively in the acute situation that has come about? I replied then and I say now without hesitation: There can be no talk of the indecisiveness of the republic's leadership. Yes, we are in favor of order. But we place the chief emphasis on political methods, on persuading people; we are taking every step to divert them from the dangerous path. We do not want to imperil the future of those young people who today do not yet realize the antistate, immoral nature of their actions.

Our strength lies in conviction, in active truth. We in the Central Committee in general stand for the broad humanization of relations with people. This line was proclaimed by us at the September Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Now I again wish to repeat what was said at the plenum: We hold out our hand to everyone who is concerned with mind and heart for the fate of the people and the affairs of the republic, and who supports the latter's renewal.

Ahead of us lies much complex work. We will not cope with it if we are disunited.

We will achieve a great deal if the republic's Communists are cohesive and the people united.

It is for precisely this, compatriots, that I appeal to you all.

Shcherbitskiy's 16 Oct Address Reported

LD1910160188 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1615 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Following the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee plenum, a conference of high-level party and state officials of the USSR was held at the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee.

The conference was addressed by Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee first secretary.

The implementation of restructuring tasks and the completion of the 5-year plan period, he noted, will require an extraordinary exertion of efforts, high organizational ability, unity, and precision in work at all levels. Little time remains before rayon, town, and oblast party conferences begin. We must turn our attention to all cadre questions. What matters is that appropriate and well-trained workers are elected to leading bodies. It is necessary to carry out as quickly as possible the reorganization of the party apparatus and to achieve its qualitative transformation.

This means that the functional duties of every [words indistinct] sector and every worker of the apparatus must be thought through more deeply and their attention turned to mastering political methods of leadership. Special attention should be focused on the selection of party organizers. This is the reserve of primary requirements. The level of apparatus workers should be considerably increased and renewed at the same time; that is, rejuvenated by selecting people who can, as they say, think.

To all those comrades who will be made redundant, appropriate attention should be paid; their work placement and the solution of their other everyday problems should be approached with a humane touch.

Now as never before the problems of ideological work should be brought to the center of attention, including nationality relations and internationalist upbringing. It was noted that certain obkoms display impermissible complacency with regard to nationality problems; they underestimate the development of bilingualism and meeting cultural requirements of national groups.

At present more than a few unofficial associations have appeared; this testifies to the broad process of democratization in public life. However, the leadership of some of them has been penetrated by extremists who count on the group assembling in the streets, holding unauthorized meetings and demonstrations, and engaging in incitement. Unfortunately, in some places the social danger of such manifestations is underestimated. It was noted once again that in ideological work trivial things do not exist. We should look forward and resolve questions in a timely fashion, while taking into account public opinion. The leaders should keep in close contact with the people and inform them more often, using for this the opportunities presented by television, radio, and the press.

The systematic spotlighting of the fulfillment of tasks adopted should become a rule in both the activities of party committees and state organs at all levels.

Later, Comrade Shcherbitskiy discussed some practical questions regarding the development of the services sphere. In particular, it is necessary to boost the work of co-ops and pay attention to many shortcomings within them. Over a third of the produce and services coming from co-ops are sold not to the public but to state enterprises. For example, in public catering almost 60 percent of all co-ops have been created on the basis of enterprises subordinated to state trade and consumer co-op associations. As a result, instead of the existing network growing larger, what in fact is taking place in some places is a change in name signs, with two-thirds of the co-ops producing goods from the foodstuffs purchased from state enterprises or from retail trade. Because appropriate controls do not exist, many co-ops fail to uphold the prescribed order and increase prices. Quite often they are joined by petty dealers and rascals. One should also take into account the fact that the unjustifiably high pay in many co-ops causes a drift of skilled cadres from state enterprises and organizations. At the same time, the retired, housewives, and students in the co-op workforce amounts to little more than 20 percent.

The oblast executive committees should fundamentally improve the supervision of the cooperative movement. In every oblast, town and rayon a list of goods and services should be drawn up as soon as possible, the demand for which could be met by cooperatives. Together with ministries and departments it is necessary to review the questions of providing them with premises, equipment, transport, and raw materials. A demand should be addressed to the republic's Ministry of Finance, Gosplan, the State Committee for Prices, the Ministry of Justice, the Interior Ministry, the Procurator's Office, and other concerned departments to strengthen control over the financial and economic activities of cooperatives and not to allow cases of deceiving the state, speculation, and incorrect distribution of income.

It was stressed that the trouble stems from the fact that agro-industrial complex workers have little knowledge of trade conditions, notwithstanding that this is the final result of their activities. In turn, trade organizations workers and consumer cooperative association workers should also have a better knowledge of how the agriculture and processing branches are faring. He then touched on the question of distributing domestic and provision goods that are in high demand, goods in so-called short supply. On-the-spot verification shows that a considerable amount of these goods finds its way into all sorts of reserves and afterward is simply squandered. And this improper practice is observed in the Ministry of Trade right down to local trade outlets. Strict order should be established in this matter, ensured by rigid workers' control, primarily by trade unions.

Afterward, certain concrete winter preparation tasks were reviewed. It was noted that over the last years serious measures have been taken in the republic to accelerate replacement of worn-out heat-conducting networks and to introduce on a large scale centralized heat supplies. However, serious omissions in the provision of heat to residential houses, hospitals, creches, and schools are still being permitted. Even now in a number of towns the overhaul of boiler houses and the replacement of worn-out heat-conducting lines have not been completed. A lag has occured in the work to provide a stable heat supply to miners' towns and settlements in the Donets basin. The oblast executive committees must speed up this matter immediately.

In a number of oblasts the provision of fuel to the population remains unsatisfactory. In Ivano-Frankovsk, Lvov, and Chernovtsy Oblasts, fuel has not been delivered to many families of war invalids. In Vinnitsa, Dnepropetrovsk, Zhitomir, Nikolayev, and Khmelnitskiy Oblasts the task of issuing fuel to working people in accordance with collective agreements is not being fulfilled. In Donetsk, Crimean, Rovno, Kharkov, and some other oblasts, There is lagging in the delivery of fuel to schools, hospitals, and clubs. The party obkoms and oblast executive committees should maintain everyday control over this question and when the need arises they should wholeheartedly question the economic leaders and local soviets.

Summing up, the first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee stressed once again that implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and subsequent plenums on deepening restructuring should become the main content of all work at the current stage. It is important that the mapped-out reforms be implemented consistently and comprehensively both in the political and economic fields. The style and methods of party and state organs' work should be improved, taking into account the separation of functions. [passage omitted]

Enterprises, Banks To Issue Securities

LD2010154688 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—The issuing of securities by Soviet enterprises and organizations will become a new stage in upgrading the economic mechanism in the Soviet Union. The legal basis for this is created by a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the other day.

In accordance with this decree industrial and agricultural enterprises, as well as banks are given the right to issue two kinds of securities: shares of work collectives which will be bought by employees of the given enterprise, and shares of enterprises that will be on sale on the market. This will supplement the existing forms of centralised regulation of capital investments with a possibility for rapid redistribution of existing funds.

"The issuing of securities on the initiatve of enterprises supported by the Soviet Government is a new element of the Soviet financial and crediting system", a TASS correspondent was told by USSR Deputy Minister of Finance Vyacheslav Senchagov. He is of the opinion that this will make it possible to solve three tasks: first, to overcome alienation of working people from state property and make them real masters of production, second, to draw savings of people in a democratic form in the solution of production and social tasks and, third, to form in the USSR a market of securities as one of the elements of socialist market. The decree of the USSR Council of Ministers actually puts an end to a debate whether or not this market in the USSR is needed. It is not yet planned to set up specialised sections of the money market to handle securities, but the very fact of selling and buying securities by enterprises will certainly require the establishment of a mechanism for these operations.

The right to issue securities widens independence of enterprises and their possibilities for self-financing, the deputy minister of finance said. The interest on shares will be determined by enterprises depending on how successfully and profitably they operate.

Further Reportage on Congress of Physicians

Biryukova, Vlasov Attend

LD1810133688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] The All-Union Congress of Physicians is continuing its work in Moscow today. The congress welcomed Comrades Biryukova and Vlasov with applause. In discussing the report by the USSR health minister, the speakers spoke of the negative phenomena which have accumulated over recent decades in Soviet health care. They include a weak material base for our medical system, a shortage of doctors, an insufficiency of medicines, and low qualifications of health workers.

In analyzing the situation today and the causes of shortcomings in our health system, the delegates and guests at the congress are discussing in a businesslike way measures aimed at restructuring the way it is managed, new methods of planning and financing, and the problem of pay for medical staff. A large role should be played here by changing from extensive methods [words indistinct] to evaluation according to the health, and money left over from other things should be given up. Many delegates stressed that you cannot make economies in health, which is the main wealth and strength of society.

Congress Ends 19 Oct

PM2010151388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Physicians' Congress Ends"]

[Excerpts] There is no greater value than people's health, which is a key indicator of society's well-being. This was the main theme of the speeches delivered at the All-Union Congress of Physicians. It ended 19 October in Moscow in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

The third day of the congress proceedings was attended by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

The debate was summed up by Ye.I. Chazov, USSR minister of health.

An appeal of the All-Union Congress of Physicians to the physicians of the world was adopted. In says in part:

"We believe in bright human reason, we are convinced that the ideas of peace and progress will triumph. Let us pool our efforts and do everything in our power to ensure a bright, healthy future for the people of the world based on close cooperation and mutual trust and respect."

A resolution was adopted at the congress which emphasizes that all medical workers must gear their work and efforts to the implementation of the tasks set in the Basic Guidelines for the Development of Health Care for the Population and the Restructuring of the USSR Health Service Through the Year 2000.

PRAVDA Interviews Internal Troops Chief

PM2110090188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Colonel General Yu.V. Shatalin, chief of the USSR MVD Internal Troops, by own correspondents V. Astashin and A. Gorlov, under the rubric "Topical Interview": "The Right to Defend the Right"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree was recently adopted on the obligations and rights of the USSR MVD Internal Troops in protecting public order. Many readers are asking whether the adoption of the decree was conditioned by any special circumstances. This question kicked off the conversation between our PRAVDA correspondents and Colonel General Yu.V. Shatalin, chief of the USSR MVD Internal Troops.

[Shatalin] No. The idea of preparing the decree emerged 2 years ago, when, in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the extensive legal reform designed to ensure the primacy of the law in all spheres of society's life and to further strengthen socialist law and order started to be consistently implemented. After the publication of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Status of the Fight Against Crime in the Country and Additional Measures To Prevent Lawbreaking" this idea was fleshed out in a draft decree.

Representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Prosecutor's Office, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and scholars took part in preparing the decree. Each paragraph of the future legislative act and its correlation with the USSR Constitution and other laws was painstakingly checked.

A single legal document covering troops was also needed because, despite their 70-year history, they have regrettably lacked any clear regulations governing their obligations and rights.

[PRAVDA] Could you talk in more detail about the history of the troops? A number of letters claim that the internal troops were allegedly set up in connection with events in the Transcaucasus, and had previously not existed....

[Shatalin] The troops can trace their lineage back to the guards of the Smolnyy and the first VChK [All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage] detachments. Our troops guarded railroads and important industrial installations and formed the rear guard for the Red Army during the Civil War, the period of foreign intervention, and the Great Patriotic War years.

What more can be said? There was the participation in putting down mutinies in the first years of Soviet power, the fight against sundry gangs, the basmachis, and later—at the end of and immediately after the Great Patriotic War—the armed bourgeois nationalist underground in a number of the country's western regions. At various stages of the state's history some tasks were solved while others appeared or changed in form. New laws and government resolutions were passed and ministerial orders issued. Many of these were clearly obsolete and no longer met present-day requirements. There were also other tasks whose execution was not governed by the law at all. It was easy to find oneself at odds with the law in such areas. That was why we needed a decree to sort things out, as the saying goes.

The decree clearly defines the troops' functions. They are tasked with participating in protecting public order, state installations, special cargoes, correctional labor facilities, and education and labor clinics; they have a number of other tasks also.

[PRAVDA] What is the troops' role in protecting public order? Is that not handled by the militia, after all?

[Shatalin] Indeed so. Forces of special motorized militia units and, if necessary, operations units carry out the patrol and points service, whereas the internal forces are assigned to participate in safeguarding public order during mass sociopolitical, sports, and other events, during quarantine measures after an epidemic or animal disease outbreak, and during fires and natural disasters. Examples of this sort are widely known. Our troops took part in safeguarding public order during the 1980 Olympics, Moscow youth and student festivals, and the Goodwill Games. Nor could I fail to mention Chernobyl.

Readers know about the internal troops who safeguarded public order in the Chernobyl AES region....

Our men are still serving there now.... However, to continue: It is also the troops' duty to put a stop to mass violations of public order posing a threat to citizens' life and health, disorganizing the work of enterprises, organizations, and institutions, or aimed at wrecking and destroying state public and private property. The involvement of the patrol and points service under ordinary circumstances at their place of deployment is a matter for the USSR minister of internal affairs, but under special circumstances their involvement must be coordinated with the USSR Council of Ministers. The troops' independence of local organs of power is thus maintained. Any transfer of the troops to local jurisdiction will not be permitted.

[PRAVDA] What is the explanation behind that restriction, Yuriy Vasilyevich?

[Shatalin] The troops, in fact, have never been under the jurisdiction of local organs of power. This is stipulated by Article 73 of the USSR Constitution. This states that the leadership of the USSR Armed Forces is under USSR control in the shape of the supreme organs of state power and administration.

[PRAVDA] Regarding the decree, some people are trying to make something of the question of the use of weapons....

[Shatalin] This point has been raised.... It was discussed in a particularly heated way and in the most unfavorable tones at a recent unsanctioned rally in Moscow. What can be said about it? Troops are troops are troops. They are armed. And they serve with arms, including, when required by circumstances, in protecting public order.

Let's look at the specifics of the question. The right to use weapons is allowed when protecting citizens from an attack threatening their lives or health, if such protection is not possible using other ways and means. It is an enforced measure that is exclusive and therefore humane, since in emergency circumstances it is directed against individual criminal elements for the sake of the majority of the population.

The same should be said of instances of repulsing an attack on servicemen, when their lives are put in direct danger as a result of their service. In the past the use of weapons was only allowed when militiamen or voluntary people's militia workers were attacked. Legitimate defense against attempts on the lives and health of USSR Armed Forces personnel is now enshrined in law.

I will quote a few figures to prove that this measure was urgent. Six people died and more than 1,000 internal affairs organs' staffers and servicemen were injured while stopping illegal actions in the years 1986-1988. The wounded included soldiers, noncommissioned officers, warrant officers, and officers; almost 300 people are still in the hospital.

Troops must be given the right to use weapons when arresting people who have committed a crime or who are caught in the act of committing a particularly dangerous crime—people whom it would be impossible to arrest using other means and methods.

Lastly there is another right—the right to repulse an attack on particularly secret and important installations and also the right to repel an armed attack on other facilities being protected. In the latter case, the legislative has applied this measure solely to facilities under the protection of the internal troops and to the tasks they perform. As an integral part of the USSR Armed Forces the internal troops are guided by the regulations of the garrison guard services, which, incidentally, have also been ratified by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree; the regulations have clearly and unequivocally determined every situation where weapons should be employed.

[PRAVDA] But the law does particularly stipulate that weapons cannot be used in cases when bystanders could suffer, against women and minors, and also against citizens accompanied by underage children.

[Shatalin] That is the case. I would like to stress once again that the use of weapons is an exceptional measure and the regulations clearly define its limits. Weapons are not the essence of our actions. Personnel fulfill their obligations by quite different means and methods that are also enshrined in law. We would not be able to safeguard citizens' interests and security without granting troops definite opportunities for fulfilling their tasks. It is necessary not only to impose obligations but also to provide the requisite rights. Our servicemen have been authorized to check criminal suspects' identity documents and hand over to the militia citizens who have committed administrative offenses....

The troops' representatives are entitled to go into living premises, enterprises, organizations, and establishments in pursuit of people they suspect of having committed crimes and also in order to stop violations posing a threat to public order or to citizens' personal property. Troop details when necessary can also seal off areas, individual facilities, and buildings. One more thing: In exceptional circumstances—in order to stop violence and outrages among lawbreakers in detention and also when arresting and escorting dangerous criminals—they are authorized to use handcuffs. In an emergency, when rapid effective steps need to be taken to restore order and public safety, special methods can be used. They are regarded as additional powers enabling the internal troops to exert pressure on hooligan or extremist elements who are flagrantly violating public order.

[PRAVDA] Do the troops possess special equipment and the means to protect their personnel?

[Shatalin] I must admit that we don't have the requisite quantity of special equipment and what we do have is by no means complete. For this reason details and subunits sometimes find themselves poorly protected when faced with rioting elements. We have not acquired the skills of operating in such situations.

[PRAVDA] How do you account for the two quite serious incidents in the internal troops?

[Shatalin] They were in fact extremely serious incidents. The first was an attempt 2 years ago by three soldiers who were drug addicts to hijack an aircraft, the second involved the shooting of a special carriage guard, which happened 18 months ago. We are undoubtedly to blame here: poor knowledge of people, superficial monitoring of service, and officers' isolation from the staff. Conclusions are being drawn from these events with regard to all areas of work: organizational, party political, educational, and domestic. We are sometimes accused of liberalism. That's not so. Strict measures are taken against those guilty of breaches of discipline and those who don't secure their area.

But let's look at the problem from another angle. The internal troops, like the armed forces in general, are part of and are closely linked with society. For the soldiers who planned to seize the aircraft did not become drug addicts during their service. They became hooked on drugs long before the draft. It is mainly good lads that enter the army, but there are also others. Of course, there are few of the latter, but groups of a negative trend form around them. Yet we are obliged to train and make good soldiers out of them in a very short time.

Unfortunately, stagnation phenomena did not pass by the internal troops. The responsibility of leading cadres has declined. Instances of deception and the desire to pass off dubious successes as major achievements are worrying. Radical and resolute restructuring is slow among the troops.

[PRAVDA] What is your attitude toward articles on the internal troops' actions? In your opinion, is everything in them objective?

[Shatalin] Of course, it pains me that our soldiers are sometimes depicted as cruel and having no sense of compassion. I do not want to cite the name of the prizewinning poet, but his recently published poem—called "Victors' March"—simply wounded all of us.

A number of articles display elementary incompetence: When a soldiers acts within the bounds of the law but the press raises a hue and cry without investigating, then it is not the soldier they are criticizing but the law, and they are discrediting military service.

Let me stress that personnel protect the interests of the Soviet state and must always be ready to defend the socialist fatherland. The nature of their commitments demands that they observe socialist legality strictly and that they be honest, upright, brave, and just in their dealings with people. This is precisely how our soldiers act.

More than 90 servicemen have won an everlasting place on unit rolls and 60 of them have performed heroic deeds in peacetime. Our troops' working days are filled with examples of bravery and courage. There was a recent example of this in Volgograd. A terrorist armed with a homemade explosive device blackmailed senior rayispolkom workers for a long time and extorted money from them. He was rendered harmless by Lieutenant R. Ayupov. But the explosive device went off. The officer lost his sight. A few months previously Senior Lieutenant Yu. Isayev distinguished himself. He took part in freeing hostages and arresting criminals in Kaluga Oblast.

Our troops serve the people.

We do everything to ensure that our soldiers are always like a sentry at his post—vigilant, reliable, skillful. Insofar as we still encounter people who disregard socialist legality, break the law, and commit antisocial acts, the state must have a reliable mechanism to guarantee the safeguarding of Soviet citizens' rights. Internal troops also serve this purpose.

Writer Defends Exposure of Stalin Camp Crimes

PM2010141188 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 41, 10-16 Oct 88 (Signed to Press 12 Oct 88) p 2

[Reader V. Pomeshchenko letter followed by Lev Razgon commentary as part of "Correspondence With Readers" feature]

[Text] Please do not censure me for troubling you. I am writing to complain on my comrades' instructions and on my own behalf. We have read Lev Razgon's article under the flashy title "Citizen Chief" in NEDELYA No 19. This composition, with its collection of untruthful and illogical information, amazed us. L. Razgon spent the whole war languishing in the camps. It is not known whether it was as a result of a trumped-up charge or a crime, but that is beside the point. His story insulted and angered veterans. I would like to see my opinion published, even if this does not quite suit the NEDELYA editorial office. Gone are the times when the game of silence was played. If need be, we will write a collective letter on behalf of war and labor veterans.

V. Pomeshchenko, CPSU member since 1943, participant in the Great Patriotic War, and labor veteran

Volgodonsk [Pomeshchenko letter ends]

V.Ya. Pomeshchenko waxes indignant, on his own behalf and on behalf of unidentified "war and labor veterans," because I undeservedly insulted Colonel Tarasyuk, chief of the NKVD's Ustvymlag [expansion unknown], in my article "Citizen Chief."

What sort of man was this colonel? He was one of those who diligently and inhumanly turned Soviet people into "camp dust." As in the horror story about Koshchey [Russian folk tale about mythical figure who kept large numbers of people captive], someone somewhere is concealing the terrifying figure denoting the number of people who perished in the camps which covered this vast country like pockmarks. But the number of those people—the ones destroyed—runs into millions!

Their death was caused by unendurable labor, by cold and starvation, by unheard-of degradation and humiliation, by a life which could not have been endured by any other mammal.... I saw it all for myself! All that is left of them are countless nameless graves, which were leveled to the ground. The flower of the nation—talented, honest, and industrious people—was interred in these graves.

And all this was done not by just anybody but by people wearing shoulder boards and considering themselves Soviet people. They have withdrawn to take a "well-earned rest," they have become military pensioners, they enjoy all the privileges, they are even considered "participants in the war," and their chests are decorated with medal ribbons. Only a handful have suffered the punishment they deserved.

V.Ya. Pomeshchenko says that I "spent the whole war languishing in the camps" and that the reason why is beside the point.... In other words, did I sit out the war? The following also "sat out the war" with me, in our one camp alone: Corps Commander Ya.Z. Pokus, a Civil War hero who died in the camp; Corps Commander S.N. Bogomyagkov, chief of staff of the Special Red Banner Far East Army; Corps Commander N.V. Lisovskiy, deputy chief of General Staff; and a multitude of other officers with tremendous combat experience and degrees from military academies. They were killed off by people like Col Tarasyuk and others of his ilk. They were killing them off and looting their ranks, promoting themselves to majors, colonels, and generals. Even Beriya ended up a marshal.

Against whom were these sham officers and generals fighting? Against their own people, against defenseless people over whom they held complete sway, against women, old people, and children.

I am one of the few survivors, and I deem it my duty as citizen, Communist, and writer to tell everyone about it, to tell our contemporaries and future generations. And B.Ya. Pomeshchenko's letter proves that this must be done. He is not alone. I have received quite a few letters from people like him, trying to defend Stalin's regime of butchery.

What qualities must a man have to calmly overlook the lives of millions in order to defend butchers? All he needs is an absolute lack of conscience.

But conscience is like talent. You either have it or you don't.

Lev Razgon

Prosecutor Endorses Newspaper's Criticism

PM2110081588 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 42, 19 Oct 88 p 1

[Feature including response by A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor, to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA criticism: "Response: USSR General Prosecutor Backs LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Articles"]

[Text] A sketch by Aleksandr Borin entitled "Crime Against Justice" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 5 August 1987) stated that the frequently discussed "individual mistakes by investigative organs" sometimes cover an entirely deliberate and premeditated fabrication of criminal cases where law and truth are unceremoniously flouted and innocent people are placed behind bars for long periods of time without the slightest justification. The article discussed the fate of the Sochi defense counsel R.I. Khachaturov, who spent 14 months in a prison cell. A reply received by the editorial office from A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy general prosecutor, admitted that Kh.A. Nunayev, senior investigator at the Sochi Prosecutor's Office who was in charge of Khachaturov's case, had "abused his official position," had "unlawfully arrested Khachaturov," and had "introduced false information into the protocol." However, the USSR Prosecutor's Office reply read, "criminal proceedings against Nunayev were dropped because of changed circumstances." This strange attitude of the USSR Prosecutor's Office made it necessary to publish another article (A. Borin "An Old Game" LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 6 April 1988). This article also criticized the actions of B.I. Rybnikov, Krasnodar Kray prosecutor, who, in a conversation with a correspondent of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KUBAN, without mentioning his own responsibility for the injustices committed against Khachaturov, tried to slander...Khachaturov's defense counsel. The USSR Prosecutor's Office staff were in no hurry to reply to the criticism published in

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. The editorial office was forced to turn to the recently appointed USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev. Here is his reply:

"To Comrade A.B. Chakovskiy, chief editor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Your letter concerning the reply of Comrade A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy general prosecutor, to A. Borin's sketch 'Crime against Justice,' which was published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, has been examined. The criticism contained in the second article ('An Old Game' of 6 April 1988) is justified. The decision to drop the case against Kh.A. Nunayev, former senior investigator at the Sochi Prosecutor's Office, has been rescinded and a new investigation of this case has been ordered. I also regard as correct the assessment made in the article of the stance of Krasnodar Kray Prosecutor B.I. Rybnikov. Questions of the violation of legality in the kray by, among others, prosecutor's office staff, were the subject of a special debate. B.I. Rybnikov has received a serious reprimand. The USSR Prosecutor's Office is taking the steps necessary to eradicate infringements of legality and to enhance the role and responsibility of prosecution organ leaders for the training of cadres."

Construction of Officials' Residences Criticized

PM2010150188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Oct 88 p 2

[Report by "our own correspondent" L. Sotnik under the "For the Party Members' Honest and Pure Countenance": "Sense of Modesty Again"]

[Text] Lutsk—The foundation to this story was laid by a letter from L. Pavlenko, first secretary of the Volyn Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, to V. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. "A grave situation with regard to providing responsible workers with apartments has taken shape in the obkom apparatus," the letter said. "They are mainly workers who were sent to work from other population centers and are now living in hotels, hostels, or private apartments. The Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom and Oblispolkom ask that as an exception they be allowed to construct for this category of workers a 12-apartment block based on an individual design elaborated in 1983 with the permission of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers by the Ternopol branch of the 'Giprograzhdanpromstroy' Institute. This construction will be carried out by the oblispolkom through shared participation in the housing construction of the Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom."

Leonid Ivanovich Pavlenko, who used to work in Kiev Oblast, was elected first secretary of the Volyn Obkom 4 July 1987. He sent the letter to the Council of Ministers chairman on 26 August of the same year. The republic's Council of Ministers also acted with enviable speed. On 31 August the Volyn Oblispolkom office recorded an answering document from the republic's capital: "We agree to the proposal." The relevant instructions were issued to the Ukrainian SSR Gosstroy and Bank for Financing Capital Investments.

The construction began without delay. And with it letters arrived at the editorial office.

"We workers of the 'Zhilstroy-1' administration are now working on the erection of an apartment block for responsible workers. While thousands of large houses in the country are being handed over to children, invalids, and veterans, in Lutsk, which is gasping from the lack of housing, responsible workers are constructing mansions for themselves. All appeals to the local organs of power receive the answer: 'It's all legal, they have been given permission.' It is time to urge our leaders to display modesty and, if they have lost it, to present the block to those who need it most: children, invalids, and veterans. [signed] V. Duginov, A. Dolonskiy, P. Chlek, and other team members."

Here is what S. Zozulya, a CPSU member since 1932, wrote: "Instances of social injustice are delaying and compromising restructuring. The construction of housing 'for the elite' is proceeding as if through the inertia of stagnation. Its cost is R425,000. The area of each of the six four-room apartments will be 148 square meters and the area of each three-room apartment 124 square meters. While in conventional blocks a two-room apartment costs the state R8,000-R10,000, these apartments will cost at least R40,000 each. It is planned to fit them with high-quality oak woodwork, room dividers, panels made of expensive types of wood, smart sanitary ware, large halls, and even individual wardrobes of 8 square meters. Yet in the city there are about 20,000 working people, including former front line men, who are waiting in line to receive their stipulated housing....

"In June a conference of ideological workers at the party gorkom asked gorispolkom chairman A. Krivitskiy: For whom is the apartment block being constructed and why are there such extravagances? Krivitskiy was covered in confusion and said nothing in reply."

Everything written by the construction workers and pensioner S. Zozulya is the truth. In only one respect was the old Communist slightly wrong. The Gosbank specified that the estimated cost of the 12-apartment house was not R425,000 but R449,000. This after all attempts by the client to cut back on some extravagances and to make the project cheaper.

In the Ukraine there are many buildings previously intended to satisfy administrative and other ambitions which have been handed over to the social sphere. These trends have somehow failed to reach Lutsk.

Try to get to the children's polyclinic here! It is in makeshift premises and is poorly equipped. At the same time many city and oblast organizations quite recently moved in pomp to a smart new administrative building.

Why not, for instance, hand over for that children's polyclinic the building of the oblast trade union courses (the trade union activists would have plenty of room in the apartments of the oblast political enlightenment center)? Why not take for different needs the party obkom's permanently empty "irregular" hotel? So far these proposals are failing to meet with any response.

At the party obkom, when I started talking about the large house on Young Leninist Street, my interlocutors were surprised: "Why pick on that house! People need to settle somehow. And we are not the only ones—many such houses have been constructed and are being constructed according to the Ternopol design in the Ukraine's oblast centers...."

But I think it would be better to boast about apartment blocks for workers.

Baklanov Visits Moscow Machine-Building Plant

PM2010082088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "More Practical Results"]

[Text] On 18 October O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited a science and production machine-building association near Moscow.

In the course of a discussion with the economic and party leadership and specialists at the association on the state of affairs regarding the creation of new space technology in the interests of the national economy and the growth of production efficiency, it was noted that the practical results achieved by the science and production association in recent years do not accord with its high scientific and production potential. Measures were examined to improve the collective's work, further improve the technical standard of developments, and substantially reduce the time taken to create articles, first and foremost through automating design work, improving testing and experimental work, and developing economic accountability relations. There was a detailed examination of the state of affairs regarding the production of consumer goods at the association, the development and manufacture of manufacturing equipment for processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, and the development of the service sphere.

Particular attention was drawn to the resolution of social questions and the improvement of the workers' living standard. The organization of catering and ways of improving the working people's working and leisure conditions were discussed. At the construction sites themselves, the course of construction of apartment blocks and social and cultural facilities and the development of operations in the youth housing complex were examined.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired about the holding of report and election meetings in the association's party organizations, the criticisms and proposals put forward by Communists, and the devleopment of democratization and glasnost. The science and production association's party committee must persistently develop the labor collectives' creative initiative, implacably combat the erection of artificial barriers to hamper restructuring, and show constant concern for improving social and consumer conditions for the association's workers.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee section, and other party and economic leaders.

Earthquake in Kirghizia; No Casualties

LD2110082488 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Frunze October 21 TASS—Today a force 4-5 earthquake occurred in the Soviet Central Asian republic of Kirghizia at 4:55 A.M., Moscow time. According to the data of the Seismology Institute of the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences, its epicentre was 120 km southwest of the city of Osh in the spurs of the Altay Ridge.

The underground shock was felt only in the village of Daraut-Kurgan where it was force 4.

There were no casualties or damage to buildings.

Economic

Economic Data Show 'Positive' Trend

LD2010191888 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Positive processes in the economy of the USSR were pointed out by Nikolay Belov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics. At a briefing in Moscow today he delivered a report about the main results of the country's economic development over the nine months of 1988.

Belov said that the USSR's national revenues grew over the nine months by 4.7 percent as against 2.4 percent over the same period last year, that the productivity of social labour increased by 5.2 percent as against 2.5 percent. He expressed satisfaction with the fact that since the second year of the current five-year period (1986-1990), for the first time over many years, the entire increment of the industrial and agricultural output, of the national income was achieved through the increase of the labour productivity.

The representatives of the USSR State Committee for Statistics pointed out that 4.8 million tons of oil including gas concentrate and about 12 billion cubic metres of gas was extracted over and above the plan, that 16 million tons of coal was mined above the planned assignments. The fact that a considerable number of enterprises worked in conditions of complete cost-accounting promoted the increase of the overall standard of economic management.

At the same time, in contrast against the previous years, production of consumer goods was growing at a high pace. It increased by 5.4 percent over nine months, while the manufacture of means of production grew 3.9 percent. But though the plan for retail trade has been fulfilled, though the volume of food products and non-food goods sold and paid services rendered widened, the population's demand has not been met. Answering questions from newsmen, Nikolay Belov said that a certain increase of the aggregate agricultural output is expected this year. This applies, above all, to the output of animal husbandry, the harvests of vegetables and sugar beet. But the crops of cereals and yields of potatoes will apparently be less than over the past two years.

Belov described as a major result of the past period of five years "a real turn of the economy toward overcoming the principle of investing in the social sphere only what is left." He said, specifically, that the average monthly wages of factory and office workers increased by 6.7 percent, remuneration of collective farmers went up by five percent. He criticized the state of things with fulfilling the housing programme and said that the volumes of housing opened for occupancy dropped by three percent on the same period last year.

The representative of the USSR State Committee for Statistics pointed to the resumption of the growth of the foreign trade turnover. The increment made up 2.3 percent, while it was dropping at the same pace in January-September last year. The USSR's import went up by 4.8 percent, while the volume of export remained at the last year's level. New forms of economic cooperation are developing. As many as 105 joint ventures, among them 15 with partners from socialist countries and 90 with partners from capitalist countries were set up in the USSR territory as of October 1, 1988. Besides that, the USSR rendered economic and technical assistance to foreign countries in the setting up of 850 enterprises.

Statistics as regards morality were also cited at the briefing. The number of persons convicted for hooliganism is one third less than over the same period last year. The total number of convictions dropped by a quarter. At the same time, the number of persons convicted for home brewing of vodka increased by over 20 percent.

Official Examines Price Formation Policy

PM2010133588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with Anatoliy Nikolayevich Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, by correspondent V. Shilov under the rubric "Examined at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo": "Against 'Easy' Profit"; date and place of interview not stated; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] We think our readers welcomed with satisfaction the report that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has examined the state of affairs regarding retail prices for consumer goods and rates for services rendered to the population. It may be said with complete justification that the authors of numerous letters to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA also took part in the preparation of the discussion of this urgent issue in the supreme party body. On instructions from the CPSU Central Committee, the editorial office in recent months has prepared several surveys and inquiries based on letters and telegrams touching on questions of price formation. The published report shows that the population's concern over grave omissions in the retail prices system has met with full support in the Central Committee Politburo.

At the request of the newspaper's correspondent V. Shilov, Anatoliy Nikolayevich Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, comments on the results of the discussion at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo:

First I would like to inform readers of the processes taking place in retail price formation and their economic influence. In the current 5-year plan, as is well known, the only official rise in prices has been for wine and vodka, in 1988. The prices index for alcoholic drinks thus increased 42.9 percent. At the same time prices were reduced for a wide range of goods for children, individual types of clothing and shoes from synthetic materials, and some medical supplies and cultural and consumer goods. No other decisions were taken centrally on changing state retail prices.

But there has been a marked increase in average retail prices for many food and industrial goods, as readers correctly write. Bread articles have increased in price by an average of 18 percent, prices for potatoes have risen 11 percent, for vegetables nearly 12 percent, for television sets and hosiery 15 percent, and for refrigerators 9 percent. This list could be extended. But I think it is far more important to investigate the reasons for the spontaneous increase in prices. Two factors can be singled out here. First, the shift in demand toward higher quality (and consequently more expensive) goods. For instance, quite recently the proportion of color sets among the total number of television sets sold was 29 percent, yet now it is 52 percent. Hence the average cost of a purchase has increased. Similarly, there has been an "increase" in the average price for refrigerators in connection with the increase in demand for two-compartment models.

The second factor in the growth of prices is the imposition on customers of a more expensive commodity in place of a cheap one, which directly affects our consumer budget. For instance, how did bread articles become more expensive? In 1986 the Ministry of Grain Products decided to produce six new high quality types of output. When the price list was approved we provided not only for a certain increase in price for the new quality but also for a 20 percent reduction in the price for deviating from the stipulated quality. As everyone knows, the quality of the new bread articles leaves room for improvement.

Nonetheless, neither the trade inspectorate nor the local State Committee for Standards monitors the quality of bread articles, and no sanctions are applied involving price reduction. So the result has simply been an increase in prices favoring the Ministry of Grain Products.

Something similar can be observed in light industry. Price increases were established to encourage the production of fashionable and high quality articles. The proportion of these articles will not be in excess of R24 billion. The total sum of price increases will be approximately R4 billion. The average price increase has been 17 percent. But for individual types of articles the increases have been 30-50 percent. Here I should like to draw attention to two negative circumstances. According to the rules, the producing enterprises must agree on provisional and long-term prices with trade. But often, because of an oversight, utterly ordinary goods are unjustifiably classified as new and particularly fashionable. We are revealing tens and hundreds of such cases, and confiscating for the budget the illegally obtained price increments. The desire to put their finances right by increasing prices pushes economic leaders to erode the cheap range, which also leads to an increase in average prices. This is particularly dangerous under the conditions of the growth of economic autonomy.

Localistic abuses of prices merge with producers' monopolistic egotism. Why, for instance, are potatoes and vegetables becoming more expensive? The right to set prices for these foods has been granted to local organs. Everyone knows that vegetables are kept in a scandalous way, and a great deal goes on top of the garbage heap. To make good the losses from thriftlessness the local leaders increase retail prices.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo had deemed intolerable the practice of unjustifiably increasing retail prices and rates for services and improving enterprises' financial indicators by raising prices for the output they produce and reducing the output of cheap goods in demand among the population. The government and local organs of management have been instructed to take steps to improve the economic mechanism with a view to preventing the unjustified growth of prices, and encouraging at the same time the production of varied goods, with a consideration for the needs of different groups of the population. How will this look in practice? For next year items from the cheapest and most "popular" range—items for children, young people, and elderly people—have been included in the state order for light industry. As a rule this range is not economically advantageous to the enterprises: Economic accountability is economic accountability. What is to be done? Obviously, it is expedient to encourage the fulfillment of the state order for the cheap range by, for instance, increasing deductions into the enterprise's economic funds. And, conversely, if the enterprises seek to "snatch" as much profit as possible by producing expensive articles while reducing the production of the cheap but necessary range, then the "easy" profit from price increases should be confiscated wholly or in part by reducing deductions into the collective's fund. In general, the specialists of the State Committee for Prices, the Gosplan, and the ministries must wrack their brains to create a flexible and effective protective mechanism against the unjustified increase of prices. Cooperative prices require a special talk. Here I can only say that the State Committee for Prices is elaborating a system of measures which halts the acquisition of unearned, in fact speculative, revenue by buying up goods and foodstuffs in state stores.

What should I say in conclusion? In connection with the forthcoming price formation reform, various rumors about a future increase in prices are arising and spreading among the population. Now talk flares up about a drastic increase in prices for furniture, now about a rise in prices for automobiles or construction materials, and so forth. A serious stir arises among consumers. Everything is bought up indiscriminately, and the tension on the commodity market is aggravated. I can only state most responsibly that the rumors of an increase in retail prices have no justification. The USSR State Committee for Prices is working on the preparation of proposals for a radical reform of price formation. These proposals, as has frequently been stated, will be submitted for public examination.

Official Discusses Consumer Goods Shortages

PM2010130588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with A. Ya. Yefimov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, by correspondent V. Romanyuk: "Today a Shortage, But Tomorrow?..."—date and place not specified]

[Text] [Romanyuk] Avenir Yakovlevich, we have all grown tired of the vicissitudes of the deficit economy with its constant shortages. It is common knowledge that a recent CPSU Council of Ministers resolution, adopted after the 19th party conference, projected the production of R24 billion of consumer goods above the 5-year plan targets in 1989-1990. What lies behind this figure? And most importantly: Will the solution of that task make it possible to get rid of shortages at last?

[Yefimov] I think that consumers will notice the extra goods. Production has already increased by R13 billion in the 1st 8 months of this year compared with last year. An extra 78 million pairs of footwear and 180 million panty hose for women and 30 million for children will be produced; production of wallpaper will increase almost 1.5 times; and car owners' demand for spares, tires, and accessories will be almost fully satisfied.

How is all this being done? In addition to creating new capacities it is planned to—fully or partially—convert around 260 enterprises to produce goods for the market. For example, the tractor plant under construction in Yelabug is being converted to produce "Oka" small cars.

The enterprise will be able to produce 900,000 cars a year. Virtually all machine-building enterprises are being involved in starting up the production of car spares. However, I would not say that shortages are going to be eliminated in the very near future.

[Romanyuk] If an extra R24 billion of goods is not enough, how much does it take?

[Yefimov] Our science and we at the Gosplan make calculations based on rational consumption norms. We shall not achieve many of them until the year 2000 or even 2005. In a certain sense the normative is hypothetical: Demand may change according to the dynamics of wages and the market itself. Successes in solving the food problem may also influence the structure of our demand and affect it substantially.

[Romanyuk] Nevertheless, how many goods are needed to eliminate the shortages?

[Yefimov] Let us base our calculations on normative needs and leave aside market forces. For example, we use around 27 meters of cotton fabric per person per year. The highest figure in the world! And still it isn't enough. Why? Well, because the structure of fabrics production does not meet demand. For instance, the United States produces more silk fabrics made from artificial fibers and yarns, of course, with good hygiene characteristics, and they are more crease-resistant than our acetate.

On the other hand, there are goods for which it can hardly be said that demand is being met. We have 15 cars per 100 families, the United States has 90 per 100, and in a number of socialist countries the figure is 40-50 cars per 100 families. If there were a real prospect of buying a small car in the next few years many people would refrain from changing their television set or washing machine—at any rate, shortages in these groups of goods would not be so acute today.

[Romanyuk] Everything really is closely interlinked in the economy. But that still doesn't mean that shortages cannot be controlled or regulated at all. Perhaps one should not so much study demand as seek to manage it? More than once the press has raised the question of whether this function should be given to the USSR Gosplan. You have the resources, you know industry's real potential—you should shape the situation in the market place.

[Yefimov] The only resources we have left are the raw materials included in the state order. It is certainly necessary to control the range of goods. But is it necessary to predict all demand from the center? That is done throughout the world by firms themselves. It is necessary to develop long-term direct ties within whose framework the population's need for a given product can be determined most accurately of all. The market itself must dictate what is needed and in what quantity.

[Romanyuk] But for the time being the central plan "calls the tune"....

[Yefimov] Not quite. In the past the USSR Gosplan set targets for several hundred cultural and consumer products but now only 18 items are still under our control. Enterprises themselves shape the program and they have been given the right to enter the foreign market. It is true that now that they are working in the conditions of self-financing, many are trying to settle their own problems by means of higher contract prices. In the first half of 1988, light industry secured 50 percent of the increase in production volumes by that means. In principle the increase in the proportion of fashionable goods can only be welcomed. Unfortunately, in a number of cases the "N" index is pinned on goods which have nothing new about them and which even end up being scrapped because of their poor quality.

[Romanyuk] Meanwhile, popular goods are disappearing from the shelves under pressure of the indexes and seals of quality, which enable the producers to lead a comfortable life. In other words, are we losing our cheap goods in the pursuit of what is new and fashionable?

[Yefimov] The cheap goods problem is multifaceted. When the new economic mechanism began to be introduced, wholesale purchasers at trade fairs became more active and managed to reduce prices. But soon, having acquired a taste for self-financing, enterprises began seeking ways to profitability. And it all ended with a sharp increase in the proportion of "N" index output. Artistic and technical councils often shut their eyes to the fact that the new goods are hardly any different from the old ones.

[Romanyuk] Except in price. Which is why you cannot get cheap goods. The range of goods in the "thousand cheap items" category is very meager now. When customers go the stores they are essentially deprived of the right to choose items according to price and in line with their incomes. Cheap soap has disappeared from the stores; you can only buy soap costing 80 kopeks or even R1 a bar. And where can you find children's soap, bath soap, and household soap?

[Yefimov] Two years ago the USSR Ministry of Trade refused to accept soap—even if that meant shops closing down. The enterprises responded accordingly and stocks in the trade network diminished. Well, now production has topped the old level, but it isn't enough. This is the effect of consumer frenzy, when people buy goods for future use, so to speak. And the cooperatives help to aggravate the shortage: They buy up toilet soap and then sell it in fancy wrappers. At the moment there are no serious tax restrictions on cooperatives' profit, so they can double or even triple prices.

[Romanyuk] Surely the market should offer goods of all grades—in terms of both quality and price?

[Yefimov] But at heavy industry enterprises the production of consumer goods involves additional labor costs compared with the main output. Goods there are more "wages-intensive" than series products, and that is clearly an obstacle. To remove that obstacle it has been decided to set up a wages fund based on normatives which take into account the higher labor-intensiveness of the production of goods for the market. Part of the turnover tax will be channeled into developing these production units. More tangible bonuses are also planned for this kind of activity. From 1989 on goods for children, young people, and the elderly—and those goods are the cheap ones—are to be included in the state order. Now enterprises will not be able to reduce the volume of production of cheap goods—only increase them.

[Romanyuk] Well, this is problematical. You will agree that influence via the state order is a kind of directive?

[Yefimov] Yes, failure to fulfill the state order bodes economic trouble.

[Romanyuk] Yet elsewhere in the world they make wide use of economic levers such as a tax on profits (the production of cheap goods is considerably less profitable), a differentiated turnover tax (also less on cheap goods), and finally state grants and subsidies.

[Yefimov] Children's goods are subsidized in our country. Adults often take advantage of this fact, which puts our rapidly growing adolescents in a difficult position. As for the world at large, things are done differently in different places. In the GDR, for instance, price groups for goods are rigidly planned and the enterprise is obliged to decide for itself how best to manage its financial affairs. We see a solution to the problem in increasing wholesale prices for cheap goods. In addition, limits are being introduced on various types of price supplements.

[Romanyuk] Throughout the world, goods are paid for after they have been sold. In our country, however, output has only to leave the factory gates for it to be considered sold. We produce more footwear than anyone else in the world, and we want to increase the quantity still further, but what is the point? Perhaps the shortage is due to the fact that people's economic interests are not involved here? We use directives to prompt people to produce goods and shut our eyes to their consumer characteristics. Then we foist those goods on trade organizations, using the strong-arm method of the mechanism of fairs to bind customers to suppliers. And ultimately we have the situation which exists in the stores today: They are full of goods, but there is nothing worth buying.

[Yefimov] The idea of linking the producer's prosperity to the ultimate proceeds from the sale of the item produced is fine in itself. A collective's prosperity should indeed depend on the sale of its goods. In principle goods in our country are paid for after their sale to the wholesale depot. For the enterprise the wholesale depot is the customer. It is quite another matter whether the goods will be bought in the store. A major enterprise can have 1,000 (wholesale) customers, and each depot can have 1,000 stores. You can't have someone keeping a tally at every till. The depot ultimately takes whatever goods are available. Likewise the stores.

[Romanyuk] Perhaps we are dominated by stereotypes? Is it difficult to switch to new thinking?

[Yefimov] No, we are dominated by shortages. And to overcome them, it is necessary to develop the production base of this greatly neglected sphere, from which we expect high quality goods for the the home. Good intentions alone are not enough. For many years, under 2 percent of industrial capital investment has gone into developing consumer goods production. That is now going up sharply. But the return will, of course, depend solely on the extent of the buildup of new capacities.

[Romanyuk] Everyone you speak to in the ministries nowadays is concerned with quantity: More, more!... And in the USSR Council of Ministers' resolution there are quite astronomical figures. The group of defense ministries is instructed to create additional capacities in the next few years to produce 2 million refrigerators and freezers. The USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy intends to create capacities to supply an extra 1 million refrigerators to market stocks. And likewise for the bulk of the most important cultural and consumer goods. But we remember how, quite recently, brands of refrigerators that did not sell were taken out of production and plants closed. Won't the upcoming "boom" in goods be accompanied by a further decline in quality, which is already nothing to write home about?

[Yefimov] I do not think that customers, whose demands are pretty high nowadays, will allow any decline in quality. The present level of quality has been hard won by the purchasing public, and it is not going to allow any backsliding. True, the picture continues to vary from region to region: Goods produced in the Baltic or in Belorussia are undoubtedly of superior quality to those manufactured in Central Asia or in the Transcaucasian republics. It is not so easy to surmount this gap. But I am convinced that in solving the problem of quantity we will inevitably enhance quality. After all, when there are shortages the customer is not so fussy and the producer is little concerned about quality: Take it or leave it! Once there is competition among producers, there will be choice, and the market will itself weed out poor goods. Particularly if their price exceeds their real value. [Yefimov ends]

So we have learned the opinion of a competent person in charge of the complex of goods and services at the USSR Gosplan. I do not think that all readers will be satisfied by the views expressed during the conversation. The problem of shortages is too acute and the actions of those whose job it is to control the situation in the market are at times too stereotyped or simply feeble. In confidential, off-the-record conversations Gosplan workers admit that they are using centralized planning levers simply out of despair in order not to completely expose certain areas. We can all see the results of this.

Specialists in market conditions talk about "deferred" demand. That is when the customer holds on to his money while waiting for the product he wants to appear. But the waiting is dragging on and on. We would very much like to hope that expectations finally will be realized.

Agricultural

Outcome of Agricultural Season Reviewed

PM2110085788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Gavrichkin "Agricultural Review": "The Winter's Rigorous Demands"]

[Text] According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, livestock and poultry sales by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises between 1 January and 1 October totalled 16 million tonnes (live weight); 68.5 million tonnes of milk and 46.7 billion eggs were supplied. The increase from last year totalled 4 percent.

By 10 October 15.98 quintals of feed units per nominal head of livestock had been procured. This is, so far, 2 per cent less than last year.

This year's fall season has given rural workers an excellent opportunity to calmly finish all field work and to get ready for the long winter. However, it seems that even its store of fine days has now been exhausted. A white blanket of snow descended on fields on the banks of the Yenisey during one recent night, for instance. True, the snow did not spoil the mood of the Krasnoyarsk grain growers. On this occasion they had managed to finish the grain harvest.

But in the country as a whole there is still much work in the fields. If for crop farmers the time has come to hurry up and finish their work in view of the approaching bad weather preceding winter, livestock breeders already have their first "winter" month behind them. At the beginning of September they moved livestock from pastures to covered accommodation at livestock units. This means that it is already possible to work out some sort of results. What are they?

As regards gross milk yields since the beginning of the year, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, and Armenia are slightly behind last year's results. However, in terms of average milk yields per cow all republics have achieved gains.

September is indeed a special time. It immediately shows up who has prepared for the winter and how, what skill and circumspection they have started the season with. Take Ukrainian kolkhozes and sovkhozes, for instance. Average yields per cow over the past 9 months are 127 kg higher than last year, but if you compare this September with the last it emerges that there is a shortfall of 6 kg per cow. That is on average for the republic as a whole: On some farms, the fall feed rations are so unappetizing that milk yields have decreased by almost half.

Farms in the RSFSR have achieved gains in comparison with last September. In Belorussia, on the other hand, the month did not pass without losses, though on the whole the transfer of livestock to winter accommodation was better organized than that of a year ago.

These are by no means just soulless statistics. Behind the cited figures are complex processes. Take for instance the livestock breeders in the Baltic republics. They did not get through a difficult September without some losses (this does not of course apply to individual collectives and farms, but to overall results). Yet Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian livestock breeders are famous for their hard work, skill, and thriftiness. So what does it all hinge on?

Probably precisely on their thriftiness. This year was a very hard year for agricultural workers in the Baltic Republics. Only in Lithuania are the overall feed resources anywhere near last year's level, while in Latvia they total 98 percent of last year's resources per nominal head of livestock, and in Estonia 84 percent.

There was a harvest deficit in all agricultural crops. And this is now also affecting livestock raising, Estonian Gosagroprom Chairman G. Tynspoyeg told me. Our specialists have estimated that we will be some 400,000 quintals of feed units short in comparison with last year. A great deal will depend on the livestock breeders themselves and on their ability to make thrifty use of everything that we have.

The republic has asked to be allowed to buy additional mixed feeds. This assistance will, of course, be provided. However, the Estonian farmers are from the first days of the winter counting on the skillful and strictly economical use of every kilogram of feed. Everything else is in order here.

What are, for instance, Yaroslavl farmers counting on? Since the beginning of the year the milk yields obtained at Uglichskiy Rayon's "Uleyma" kolkhoz, for instance, could hardly be worse: 1,461 kg of milk per cow. (In Estonia, for the sake of comparison, it was 3,253 kg). The feed procurement situation is even worse: 8.4 quintals of feed units per head. (To compare, it was not much on Estonian farms either, but nonetheless 11.4 quintals per head.)

Low grass yields let us down, complains Yu. Yershov, the kolkhoz chairman. And because of unfavorable weather conditions, not enough grain and potatoes were laid in. As for root crops, there are none at all this year. (Let us compare once again: In Estonia a total of 48,000 tonnes of root crops have been laid in, twice as much as last year—V.G.) The kolkhoz has few good pastures. For this reason we lost milk during the summer. Now, with the transfer to winter accommodation, we are trying to increase yields by increasing feed rations....

But how can they increase "feed rations" if they laid in next to no feed? Moreover, laboratory tests have shown that most of the hay and grass meal that was laid in is substandard, and the quality of silage and haylage is only slightly better. These feeds should be improved, enriched. But where? A feed shop is just being built and, judging by the pace of work, it will be commissioned next year, God willing. In Uglichskiy Rayon as a whole there are only 3 feed shops and 9 feed kitchens which, in view of the fact that there are 28 farms, is but a drop in the ocean.

The situation in the oblast as a whole is no better. Of 62 feed shops 57 are considered operational, it is true, but only individual shops are actually functioning at the moment. The livestock units themselves are in an even more lamentable state. On Danilovskiy Rayon farms, for instance, only 51 out of 145 cowsheds had been repaired, and only 48 out of 231 stables for young cattle were ready.

Leasing and cooperative forms of organization are needed to get rid of the mismanagement. With their help we will be able to turn the disinherited peasant of today into the master of the land. People everywhere know this, and that includes Yaroslavl Oblast. However, it seems there remains a great gulf between knowing and actually acting on this knowledge. This gulf will not get any smaller if we continue marking time.

Scientific

Cosmonauts Carry Out Successful Spacewalk 20 Oct

TV Reports Spacewalk Tasks

LD2010224988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from the Flight Control Center by P. Orlov, identified by screen caption]

[Text] Today Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov carried out a space walk. A report from the Flight Control Center [TSUP]:

[Orlov] The main objective of the cosmonauts' work in open space today was to replace a faulty detector on the Netherlands TTM telescope. Here is the old detector which, according to the cosmonauts, was very inconvenient to work with and to maintain. [video shows shot of earth from space; hand-held stills of the old and the new detector] And here is the new one, the design of which was promptly and efficiently improved by the Netherlands side. I ought to say that our side prepared all the tools for this space walk. You see how much it differs: There are new handles—more convenient for a cosmonaut working with gloves on; there is a new safety fastening—also convenient for working in space; and there is a special alignment mark, so that the cosmonauts can precisely align the detector in position. The main thing, the lock itself—which is what caused the delay the last time and in fact prevented the fulfillment of the space-walk program—is now simpler and can be opened by a gloved hand.

This is the very lock, previously mounted on the detector, which brought the ill-luck. You have to put the key in, turn it, and here is how easily I can open it by hand. Unfortunately it's not like that in space. [Orlov at TSUP demonstrates the operation of the locking ring] Today this work was completed at the first attempt. The cosmonauts worked without being anchored, which made their work more complicated. But the main thing has been done. Now, according to a crew radio report from aboard the station, they are mounting the new detector on the body of the telescope. At the same time we here at TSUP are getting pictures from the Parallel Activity Laboratory, where experimenters are working in parallel, in terrestrial gravity but in the same position as the cosmonauts in orbit. [video shows main control room with a screen showing hands working on the installation of the detector]

And here, we've heard the hooray. That's it. The detector is in position.

I should note that this time the program was full as never before, because first of all, they were testing new space suits affording much greater palm flexibility and much more convenience in preparing for egress.

[Begin video interview with G.I. Severin, chief spacesuit designer identified by screen caption] [Severin] This spacesuit can be used without being linked to the vehicle. For this purpose we have here an add-on module which contains power sources and radio and telemetry equipment. This module is attached under the spacesuit backpack, and thus the spacesuit gets the necessary autonomy, allowing the cosmonaut to carry out his work in isolation from the station. [Severin demonstrates the suit, with the backpack open, and the add-on module]

[Orlov] That means without the umbilical?

[Severin] Without the umbilical.

[Orlov] Even today we heard from orbit that the umbilical gets in the way a lot.

[Severin] Indeed. But the program of today's work was connected only with working on the ship's surface, and there was no need to use this module. In future, when it becomes necessary to make walks involving departure from the station, or inspection of various components of the station, or transfer from one ship to another, among other tasks, this add-on module is going to give us full autonomy for the spacesuit. By attaching to the spacesuit a propulsion unit as well, we shall be able to attain cosmonauts' free movement and maneuverability in space. [end video interview]

[Orlov] And there were some more jobs today, very important for the future. First there was the installation of an anchor point for a space walk by a Soviet and a French cosmonaut. That was work for the future. An aerial was installed on the station, for communications between the ship, the station and radio amateurs. This is not just a pleasure for those who like shortwave, who pursue this seriously; it is also an additional channel of communication in the event of a nonstandard situation, as we were told. Finally, one more job done by the cosmonauts—they took samples of a so far unknown film which has been impairing visibility through the portholes. All in all, the cosmonauts spent 4 hours and 20 minutes [as heard] in open space, completely fulfilling the space-walk program. [video shows shots from space; part of space vehicles; extra-vehicular activity]

Further on Spacewalk Tasks

LD2010231088 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 20 October in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 2 minute 50 second report by P. Orlov on the USSR cosmonauts' spacewalk on 20 October.

Orlov's report from the Flight Control Center begins with actual shots taken from the space vehicle, showing dimly in the distance a man on the side of the vehicle with a large piece of equipment floating weightlessly nearby. At the same time the voice of one of the spacemen can be heard, saying how difficult the work is: The load is heavy, and there is nothing convenient to grab hold of.

The task of the spacewalk is declared to be that of replacing a faulty detector on the Netherlands telescope, first placed in position by Cosmonaut Romanenko. Orlov demonstrates how the locking device holding the Netherlands detector in place is supposed to work. Orlov makes it clear that what went wrong on the last occasion was that the key to be inserted into the lock actually broke. He says that modifications were made, and a key is no longer required; handles were also added to the detector.

After a sequence explaining that the detector is now in position, Orlov interviews USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut A.A. Leonov in the Flight Control Center. Leonov makes the point that all equipment taken into space must be easy to repair. He states that if the Netherlands equipment had possessed that characteristic, all the hard work of today's space walk could have been avoided.

Orlov then points out that the original purpose of the space walk was to test the spacesuits. Spacesuit designed Severin talks aboaut the new spacesuit.

Orlov concludes his report by saying that the cosmonauts have also installed a new aerial to the spacecraft, giving it an additional channel of radio communication with the earth's amateur radio enthusiasts, and they have taken samples of a film that had been making the windows increasingly opaque. The video at this point shows good pictures of one of the two spacemen clambering about on the outside of the hull.

Cosmonauts Repair Telescope

LD2010134788 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the mission control center: Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov today made a spacewalk to replace a detector unit on an X-ray telescope of an astrophysics module called Kvant (Quantum) and attached to their orbiting platform Mir (Peace).

When preparing for the complex extra-vehicular job on earth, they studied related manuals and determined, together with ground controllers, the order of operations to be performed on the outer surface of the platform.

New tools for the planned work were brought to the spacemen by the freight craft Progress-38.

Titov and Manarov opened the external hatchway and stepped out of the platform at 9:59 Moscow time [0659 GMT].

Replacing the detector, developed by Dutch and British specialists, was a multiphase procedure.

First the cosmonauts removed the heat insulation coating and freed the instrument of the fasteners. Then they installed a new detector unit instead of the dismantled one, hooked up the electrical cables again and restored the heat insulation.

The upgraded detector, which was mounted under a decision taken together by Soviet, Dutch and British specialists, will help increase the telescope's service life and research efficiency.

After replacing the detector, which was the main objective of the spacewalk, the cosmonauts installed a fastener, which will be needed during a planned Soviet-French spacewalk late this year, outside of the airlock and an aerial for amateur radio communications on the conical part of the exterior of the working quarters.

During their work in raw space the cosmonauts were wearing new spacesuits designed on the basis of experience gained during earlier extra-vehicular activity (EVA).

The crew demonstrated high training standards and skills when performing the complex and arduous EVA operations.

While the commander and the flight engineer were working outside, research physician Valeriy Polaykov stayed inside the transport spaceship "Soyuz TM-6" to check on-board systems and the health of Titov and Manarov.

Having completed the planned work, the two returned to the platform after 4 hours and 12 minutes outside.

The cosmonauts are feeling well.

Earlier Repair Attempt Made

LD2010182188 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Today's spacewalk of Soviet cosmonauts had been planned even before "Mir" station was put into orbit. Its main aim was to test new space suits outside the station.

The matter is that considerable changes have been made in the design of space suits. The main novelty is that cosmonauts received an opportunity to work in outer space autonomously, without the connecting line. The space suits are also equipped with additional life support systems. All the telemetric information will be relayed along radio channels. But these plans had to be put off for some time. Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov went out on a space walk today, being linked with the station by a connecting line as in the past. They had a more topical task than testing new space suits, that of replacing a detector unit in one of the x-ray telescopes of the "Kvant" astrophysical module.

The telescope was manufactured at the Dutch Institute for Space Exploration. It operated flawlessly for a specified period of one year but then started declining. Its operating characteristics worsened. It has been decided to replace the instrument with a new, updated one.

True, the replacement of the instrument has not been envisaged by its creators. It has been secured firmly and even fixed with epoxy resin.

The attempt to replace the faulty detector unit was made on June 30. But then, at the latest moment, a wrench broke after the cosmonauts have carried out a large part of the complex and strenuous work and all that remained to be done was to ease the fastening ring. The work had to be halted. Instruments were urgently designed and manufactured on the ground and the methods of carrying out the operation considered. The instruments were delivered to the station.

So at 10 a.m. today the cosmonauts went on a spacewalk. They had to do a great deal: to replace the fault instrument, to install on the station an antenna for short wave radiocommunication for radio-amateurs, to clear the hatches on the "Kvant" module and to assemble a platform which will serve for work on the station's outer surface during the forthcoming Soviet-French expedition. And, certainly, they had to test new space suits in operation. They had a very busy schedule. Three different versions were worked out for solving the main task, easing the fastening ring and removing the faulty unit. This time the cosmonauts achieved their task: the lock opened in a matter of minutes.

At 11:50 a.m. Vladimir Titov reported: "The lock has opened, we are lifting the ring".

Things went smoothly: The unit weighing 60 kg was replaced with a new one, all the connectors have been mated, an additional cable has been installed. The effectiveness of the x-ray telescope has been restored completely.

All the telescopes of the international orbital observatory "Roentgen" in whose creation scientists of Great Britain, the Netherlands, the FRG and the European Space Agency took part, will be operating tomorrow.

Communications Satellite Launched 20 Oct

LD2110083088 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—On October 20, 1988 the Soviet Union fired another communications satellite Raduga with a carrier rocket proton. It carries relay equipment for telephone, telegraph and radio communications, as well as for broadcasting of TV programmes.

The Raduga satellite was put into orbit close to stationary with the following parameters: Distance from the earth—36,522 km, period of revolution—24 hr 33 mins, orbital inclination—1.5 degrees.

Equipment mounted on the satellite operates smoothly.

Military

Army-Navy Party Election Meetings Analyzed

PM2010134588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Oct 88 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "From Analysis to Work. At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate"]

[Text] The conclusions drawn from an analysis of the report and election party meetings under way in Army and Navy party organizations have been discussed at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. It was stressed that political organs, party committees, and party bureaus have taken measures to ensure that party organs' reports and elections are held in strict accordance with the resolutions of the the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the July (1988) Plenum of the party Central Committee, and distinguish themselves by embarking on vigorous practical action to improve party influence over the resolution of the tasks that have been set.

Most of the report and election party meetings that have been held were typified by their high ideological, political, and organizational stand and their atmosphere of democracy, frankness, and professionalism. Reports and speeches have made an exacting assessment of all Communists' positions in restructuring and their personal contribution to achieving improved quality indicators in training subunits and units and in strengthening organization and order. The level of criticism and self-criticism has risen, and many constructive proposals are being submitted which prove that the number of Communists who are taking an active stance in the renewal of all aspects of the life and activity of military and labor collectives, and who are prepared to act in the spirit of the demands of the present day, is growing.

The demands made on the party aktiv and elected organs with regard to the standard of work, its results, and the ability to respond to Communists' trust through work was noted. Cases in which Communists' activity during the report period is deemed unsatisfactory have become more frequent.

Many party organizations use democratic principles in nominating and electing party organs and their secretaries, including multiple-candidate elections. At the meetings that have been held, around one-half of party group organizers and secretaries of party organizations were elected from two and more candidates.

At the same time, the level of leadership in the report and election campaign and the nature of party meetings has not everywhere been fully in line with CPSU Central Committee demands. Owing to insufficiently skilled help and attention from political organs, report and election meetings in certain party organizations have not been distinguished by detailed analysis of the ideological life of party organizations and intraparty work, or by political approaches toward ensuring combat readiness, combat training, and Communists' exemplary behavior. Reports and speeches often gloss over the reasons for lags in combat and political training. Activeness in seeking effective measures to improve military discipline is still low. There is a tendency for people to downplay criticism of their own shortcomings and failings.

The Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate drew the attention of political organs, party committees, and party bureaus to the need to improve the effectiveness of work relating to preparations for and the holding of reports and elections in party organizations. They were instructed to pay particular attention to the businesslike discussion in party organizations of practical ways of asserting qualitative parameters in training and educating personnel, as well as measures aimed at developing Communists' initiative and responsibility for their assigned areas of military service, their vanguard role in improving military skills, and their exemplary behavior in observing laws and military statutes.

With regard to the high demands made by the CPSU Central Committee on the standard of the work to strengthen military discipline in the Army and Navy, report and election party meetings should work out ways to implement these demands and measures promoting the improvement of the activeness and responsibility of all party members in averting crimes, incidents, and blatant lawbreaking. All report and election meetings should set an example in profoundly analyzing ideological life and intraparty work, the unity of word and deed, principled comradely criticism, and skilled approaches to the elaboration of a long-term program of party work.

It is necessary to organize work to immediately implement proposals, criticism, and adopted decisions. Qualified instruction—first and foremost on questions linked with the content and methods of party work and the experience of its restructuring—should be provided locally for aktiv members immediately after their election. Particular attention should be devoted to providing assistance to party groups and party organizations where the work of party group organizers, secretaries, or elected party organs is deemed to be unsatisfactory.

Political organs in all components should think through the issues pertaining to their reports at the forthcoming party conferences. Reports should comprehensively analyze the progress of the restructuring of party-political work and involve conference participants in interesting discussions of measures to further improve it. In the resolutions adopted by conferences, principledness and objectivity in assessing the activity of political organs should be backed up by the elaboration of key avenues for improving the forms and methods of the political approach to resolving the tasks facing the forces.

It is considered necessary to swiftly and systematically publicize in the Army press the course of report and election party meetings and conferences, their positive experience, and shortcomings in the preparations for and holding of them. The Army and Navy public should be informed in detail about the restructuring of party work and the practical implementation of adopted decisions and Communists' criticisms and proposals.

Reports and elections to Army and Navy Komsomol and trade union organizations will end in November, along with the holding of report and election party meetings and conferences. That is why effective party influence must be implemented in the interests of fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee demands on enhancing the role and activeness of social organizations in democratizing the lives of military and labor collectives.

It is necessary to devote committed attention to everything new emerging in the life of Komsomol and trade union organizations, and to achieve greater initiative and independence by strengthening their prestige among collectives in every possible way.

The chief concern should be to ensure that each report and election meeting is a kind of accelerator for restructuring and promotes the growth of Communists' personal responsibility and conscientiousness.

Lizichev Addresses Military Political Academy

PM1810102288 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Colonel N. Kalmykov report: "Talk at the Academy"]

[Text] A talk took place yesterday between Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and the command, political, and teaching staff of the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy. At the start of the talk, Army Gen A.D. Lizichev briefed those present on the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session held on 13 October, which analyzed the progress in fulfilling Central Committee resolutions on strengthening military discipline in the Soviet Army and Navy. Here many of the problems raised at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session were examined in close coordination with the tasks being tackled in the process of restructuring military education. The need was stressed for a profound scientific study first and foremost of questions connected with ensuring a more effective struggle against such phenomena as the evasion of military service, nonregulation relations among servicemen, violations of the rules of combat duty, and accidents involving combat hardware.

During the talk, questions of the party's role and place in the political system of Soviet society as it undergoes restructuring, and of the means of radically restructuring all the party's activity at this crucial stage in the country's development, were examined in detail.

The chief of the Main Political Directorate went on to describe in detail the course of restructuring in the Army and Navy in accordance with the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and the principles adopted by the 19th All-Union Party Conference on reorienting defense building toward primarily qualitative parameters with regard to hardware, military science, and Armed Forces personnel. Touching on the priority tasks of political organs and party organizations, he drew particular attention to the need to further activate the human factor, step up political methods of leadership, and improve the standard of party influence in maintaining the troops and naval forces in constant combat readiness and strengthening military discipline. All ideological and party political work must turn decisively toward the individual, the rallying of multinational military collectives, and the formation of a sound moral atmosphere in the collectives. It is necessary to ensure spiritual proximity between chiefs and subordinates, officers and men. This is a decisive condition of restructuring in the Army and Navy.

The Military Political Academy, which is rightly regarded as not only a crucible for political cadres but also a leading scientific center, is called upon to give great assistance in the resolution of the tasks facing the Army and Navy. In this connection the VUZ's teaching and professorial personnel have been directed toward priority avenues of scientific research in connection with the concept of military-political building in present-day conditions, and the problems of the ideological, moral, and legal education of servicemen and the activation of the human factor. The academy should become a leading organization, accumulating advanced experience, and a generator of ideas in the restructuring of party political work in the Army and Navy, Army Gen A.D. Lizichev said in conclusion.

Turkestan Military Council Discusses Training

PM1810102088 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Raising Worthy Defenders of the Motherland"]

[Text] Tashkent, 14 Oct—The restructuring of work on the military-patriotic education of young people prior to drafting and their preparation for army service was the subject of an extended session of the Turkestan Military District held today. The participants summed up the results of work in fulfilling CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers demands on this question.

The report by Army General N.I. Popov, commander of the district, and the speeches noted that enterprises and educational establishments in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia have begun to devote more attention to the military-patriotic education of young people. The material and technical base for initial military training in schools and vocational and technical collages has improved, and the quality of the training of specialists for the Armed Forces at DOSAAF schools has improved. Sport and fitness camps for predraft young people have been set up and are operating.

However, by no means all the reserves are being utilized. It was noted at the session that the cadre problem remains acute. In the schools and vocational and technical colleges there are still many poorly trained teachers of the Russian language and of initial military training. Some military training officers have never served in the army and do not really know about military matters. There are still many young people being drafted who do not know Russian and have a poor level of physical fitness. Poor use is made of training grounds, shooting ranges, and classrooms at military subunits for training sessions with schoolchildren.

The military council adopted a decision aimed at increasing the activeness of party and Komsomol raykoms, rayispolkoms, military commissariats, DOSAAF committees, and public education departments in the cause of training worthy defenders of the motherland.

R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the military council's work.

Yazov Notes Importance of Work With Families

PM2110100188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Increasing Role of Women's Councils"]

[Text] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference raised the question of Soviet women's more active participation in the process of restructuring taking place in the country. Their role is increasing in the social life of the Army and Navy. This was stated at an all-army conference of senior instructors of the political directorates of the branches of the armed forces, military districts, groups of forces, and fleets for work among servicemen's families, held in Moscow 18-20 October.

The conference was addressed by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister. He noted that work with servicemen's families is viewed as an important sector of the daily concern of commander and political organs, for maintaining a healthy microclimate in the units and on the ships, and for further consolidating military discipline.

The defense minister voiced a number of suggestions on questions of improving the practical activity of women's councils and the female public under the conditions of restructuring.

Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, took part in the work of the conference.